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THE COMPREHENSION OF ENGLISH TEXTS BY NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH AND JAPANESE, CHINESE AND RUSSIAN SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA.AN EMPIRICAL STUDY.

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Doctoral School of Business and Management | **PhD Series 30.2018**

CBS COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

# The Comprehension of English Texts by Native Speakers of English and Japanese, Chinese and Russian Speakers of English as a Lingua Franca.
## *An Empirical Study*.

**Stine Evald Bentsen**

April 2018

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Doctoral School of Business and Management

Copenhagen Business School

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# Abstract

Based on the assumption that language is more than a neutral means of communication, and our mother tongue is strongly anchored in our body, mind and culture, this project investigates the comprehension of English texts by native and non-native speakers of English from England, China, Japan and Russia. This project takes its starting point in Durst-Andersen's understanding of language as a system of signs which highlights the fundamental role of the lexicon of our mother tongue in anchoring words not only in our mind but also in our body through its process of acquisition, establishing at the same time the intrinsic link between language and culture.

For this project, I view comprehension as an integrated part of the communication process. This understanding shows how speaker and hearer are able to meet in communication, first through the common voice of grammar, which serves as the end point of the speaker's role in communication and marks the starting point for the hearer's part in communication. This is the physical point of contact. And second, through the process of anchoring, where the hearer backtracks the journey made by the speaker to recreate in her own mind what lied before. This is the mental point of contact. Thus, comprehension is layered and the full understanding of an utterance involves comprehending both layers, i.e. reaching both meeting points. Focusing specifically on the comprehension of the disjunctive particle 'or' and the comprehension of directives, I investigate (1) how the same English texts are comprehended by native speakers of English from England and non-native speakers of English from Japan, China and Russian, respectively, (2) what the differences and/or similarities are, and (3) what these differences and/or similarities tell us about comprehension in a foreign language compared to a mother tongue.

This was investigated through a qualitative analysis of data collected through the GEBCom Reception Test, designed specifically for this purpose. The test consists of 36 short texts evolving around ten different elements of interest. Following each text is a series of questions with multiple-choice answers designed to elicit the participants' comprehension of the text. The participants were 90 university students from England, Japan, China and Russia.

Findings from the comprehension of 'or' showed how all native speakers made an inclusive interpretation of the disjunctive particle, i.e. as meaning 'both… and', indicating that for native speakers of English this seems to be a grammatical distinction. Though all three groups of non-

native speakers shared the inclusive reading, a rather large portion of especially the Chinese and Japanese speakers of English differed from this understanding and comprehended ‘or’ in this text as meaning ‘either… or’. The findings from the comprehension of directives also showed similarities in comprehension between native speakers and non-native speakers but highlighted many differences as well. The analysis of the native speakers’ comprehension showed how the specific communication process of English seemed to influence their comprehension of directives, affecting their overall understanding both in terms of how polite they perceived the text, what intention they ascribed to it and which course of action they would take after having read it. Common for the non-native speakers’ comprehension across texts was the fact that even though they seemed to form the same basic understanding, i.e. reach the same physical point of contact as the native speakers, the journey they made from here was different, meaning they ended up forming a different full understanding of the texts, be this in terms of their evaluation of politeness, their interpretation of the intention behind the text or the course of action they would take subsequently.

Taken together the findings from this project showed that the process of comprehension in ELF is complex, suggesting that it may not always be possible or even relevant to conceptualise transfer as a direct transfer from mother tongue to foreign language, but rather as a subtle influence with possible profound influence for the overall understanding.

# Dansk resumé

Dette projekt bygger på den grundantagelse, at sprog ikke bare er et neutralt kommunikationsmiddel, men derimod dybt forankret i vores krop og kultur, og undersøger herigennem hvordan de samme engelske tekster forstås af englændere med engelsk som modersmål samt af japanske, kinesiske og russiske brugere af engelsk som fællessprog. I projektet tager jeg udgangspunkt i Durst-Andersens forståelse af sproget som et tegnsystem. Denne sprogforståelse understreger vigtigheden af leksikon i vores modersmål som en måde at forankre ord i både hjerne og krop, hvilket også er med til at skabe det uløselige bånd mellem sprog og kultur.

I dette projekt anser jeg forståelse ikke som en isoleret proces, men derimod som en integreret del af den samlede kommunikationsproces. Dette syn på forståelse viser hvordan afsender og modtager igennem sproget med grammatikken som fælles kode er i stand til at møde hinanden i kommunikationen. Første gang de mødes er igennem ytringen, som markerer afsenders slutpunkt og modtagers startpunkt i kommunikationen. Vi kan kalde dette for det fysiske kontaktpunkt. Dernæst mødes afsender og modtager igen, når modtager igennem sin egen forståelsesproces, igennem sin forankring af ytringen, har genskabt den rejse som afsender gjorde og derigennem er nået frem til det der lå bag ytringen. Dette er det mentale kontaktpunkt. Forståelse er altså en proces af flere lag, der alle skal forstås for at den fulde forståelse af meningen med (og bag) ytringen kan nås. Med fokus specifikt på forståelsen af den disjunktive partikel 'or' og forståelsen af direktiver undersøger jeg i dette projekt følgende: 1) hvordan de samme engelske tekster forstås af englændere med engelsk som modersmål samt af hhv. japanske, kinesiske og russiske brugere af engelsk som fællessprog, 2) hvad eventuelle forskelle og ligheder består i, og 3) hvad disse forskelle og ligheder fortæller os om forståelsesprocessen i et fremmedsprog i forhold til et modersmål.

Jeg undersøgte dette igennem en kvalitativ analyse af data som blev indsamlet via den såkaldte *GEBCom Reception Test*, som blev designet specifikt til formålet. Testen består af 36 korte tekster omhandlende ti forskellige emner, hvor hver tekst blev efterfulgt af et eller flere spørgsmål med *multiple-choice* svarmuligheder. Deltagerne var 90 universitetsstuderende fra henholdsvis England, Japan, Kina og Rusland.

Resultaterne fra deltagernes forståelse af den disjunktive partikel 'or' viste, at alle de engelske deltagere udviste samme forståelse af 'or', nemlig i den inklusive betydning 'både … og'. Det samme gjorde sig gældende for flertallet af de russiske, japanske og kinesiske deltagere, men en stor del af særligt de kinesiske og japanske deltagere afveg dog herfra ved at forstå 'or' i den eksklusive betydning, altså med betydningen 'enten … eller'. Resultaterne fra deltagernes forståelse af direktiver viste også både ligheder og forskelle imellem de forskellige grupper. Analyses af englændernes forståelse af direktiver viste hvordan kommunikationsprocessen for det engelske sprog påvirkede deres samlede forståelse af teksten, både i forhold til hvor (u)høflig de anså den for at være, hvilken mening de lagde i den, samt hvordan de ville handle på baggrund af teksten. Fælles for de japanske, kinesiske og russiske brugere af engelsk var, at selvom de ofte lod til at have den samme basale forståelse af teksterne, altså at det nåede samme fysiske kontaktpunkt som englænderne, så var den rejse de tog herfra anderledes, hvilket betød at de endte et andet sted end englænderne og dermed skabte en anden samlet forståelse af teksten i forhold til hvor (u)høflig de vurderede den til at være, hvilken mening de lagde i den og/eller hvilke efterfølgende handlinger de ville fortage.

Samlet set viser resultaterne fra projektet at forståelsesprocessen i engelsk som et fællessprog er kompleks, og at det på baggrund heraf måske ikke altid er muligt eller ligefrem relevant at tale om modersmålets indflydelse på fremmedsprog som en direkte indflydelse, men derimod som en mere subtil eller skjult indflydelse der dog kan have store konsekvenser for den samlede forståelse.

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# 1. Introduction and Research Questions

## 1.1. Background

In today's globalised world our words are able to cross oceans, mountains and national boarders the second we speak them, type them, tweet them, blog them, mail them, etc. And our words are English. If the Internet has revolutionised the means of communication, English has revolutionised the language of communication, uniting people of different cultures in a common language; English. But what exactly is English in this context? If a given language is an expression of a given culture (and vice versa), what happens when one language is used by people of many different cultures? The relationship between language, thought, and culture has always fascinated researchers. What affects what and how? Is language innate and universal and differences in languages only superficial, or are languages fundamentally different, each relative to a given culture. Does our mother tongue shape our minds, and if so what does this mean when we communicate in a foreign language? And what does this mean for the role of English in today's globalised world? Do we actually say and understand the same simply by communicating in a common language?

The Global English Business Communication Project finds itself at the centre of these questions. The Global English Business Communication Project, henceforward the GEBCom Project, was launched in the summer of 2012 under the supervision of Prof. Per Durst-Andersen of Copenhagen Business School and funded by the Carlsberg Foundation. The GEBCom Project investigates the use and understanding of English by native and non-native speakers within the world of business and academia. It does so based on the assumption that our mother tongue goes into our body and blood in a way that a foreign language is not able to, creating a bond between language, mind and body as well as anchors a given language in its culture. This view is the heart of the theoretical underpinning of the GEBCom Project which is Durst-Andersen's theory of communicative supertypes, according to which languages may be divided into three supertypes: reality-oriented languages, speaker-oriented languages and hearer-oriented languages (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, 2011b). In its totality the GEBCom Project hopes to gain a profound understanding of Global English at three levels of communication (word understanding, text comprehension and speech act production) by speakers of various linguistic backgrounds. The project employs a two-string data collection: one part is carried out in collaboration with the Carlsberg Group and their employees in China, Russia and England, respectively. Another string

of data collection is carried out with university students in Japan, China, Russia and England, respectively.

This project is part of the GEBCom Project, but with its own aim and focus. For my project, I focus on text comprehension in English, or, to be more precise, various aspects of text from the comprehension of a single disjunctive particle to the overall comprehension of directives. Based on the underlying assumption that language, especially our mother tongue, is more than a neutral medium of communication, and is deeply anchored within our body, mind and culture, I am interested in investigating what happens to our comprehension when we communicate in a foreign, yet common language. I use data gathered from university students in England, China, Japan and Russia, respectively. English is a hearer-oriented language, Chinese and Japanese are speaker-oriented languages and Russian is a reality-oriented language, meaning that languages of all three supertypes are represented.

## 1.2. Research Questions

Considering the role that English plays in today's globalised world of uniting people across different cultures and languages as well as the understanding that language is more than a neutral means of communication, this project hopes to gain new insights into how English works as a common means of communication for speakers of different mother tongues, as a *lingua franca*. I do so by shedding light on how the same English texts are comprehended by both native and non-native speakers of English, focusing on the comprehension of the disjunctive particle 'or' and the comprehension of directives. Based on this, I have formulated the following research questions:

- How are the same English texts comprehended by native speakers of English from England and non-native speakers of English from Japan, China and Russian, respectively?
- What are the differences and/or similarities?
- What do these differences and/or similarities tell us about comprehension in a foreign language compared to a mother tongue?

As my study is exploratory in in nature, I employ a qualitative approach to answer these questions, drawing on the theoretical framework of Durst-Andersen's theory of communicative supertypes supplemented with additional theory and research when relevant.

## 1.3. The structure of the dissertation

In this dissertation I investigate the comprehension of English texts by native and non-native speakers of English. I start out in Chapter 2 by discussing language as a system of signs, comparing the classic Saussurean approach with Durst-Andersen's Peircean approach to explain why language is such a powerful tool for communication. Chapter 3 problematises the role of English, discussing how English may be conceptualised differently across different disciplines and focusing specifically on the role of English as a lingua franca and the implications of this. This is followed by a discussion of the key concept comprehension in Chapter 4 as it is understood and used for this project, highlighting the view of comprehension as an inherent part of communication. Following the overall understanding of comprehension, Chapter 5 deals with those parts of the theoretical framework that were applied to design the test, focusing on the theoretical background for investigating the comprehension of the disjunctive particle 'or' as well as the theoretical background for investigating the comprehension of directives. Chapter 6 deals with the specific methodological concerns and challenges when designing the actual test, and Chapter 7 deals with the process for collecting and analysing data. The actual analysis and subsequent discussion of results are found in Chapter 8 for the comprehension of 'or' and Chapter 9 for the comprehension of directives. Finally, Chapter 10 wraps up the dissertation by reflecting upon the method, findings and contributions of my project.

# 2. Language as a System of Signs

## 2.1. Introduction

The aim of this project is to investigate comprehension in English by non-native speakers with the hope to understand how it works, which differences might occur between different groups of non-native speakers and what could be the reasons behind these possible differences. Perhaps even to shed some light on the complex relationship between mother tongue and foreign language. In order to understand comprehension in a second or a foreign language, we need to first take a look at what makes human language something special, i.e. that it is composed of signs. Understanding the linguistic sign, the different kinds of signs and their relationship as well as how we learn signs, might help us understand the specific role of the mother tongue in relation to a second or foreign language, and the impact this might have on comprehension in a foreign or second language.

The theoretical background for this project, for the entire GEBCom project, is Durst-Andersen's theories of Communicative Supertypes and Communicational Grammar. His approach to language is what forms the basis for this project, and I shall therefor dedicate this chapter to discussing what this approach means in relationship to signs, to lexicon and to grammar. However, before we enter into a discussion of this, I will briefly discuss some of Saussure's fundamental notions regarding language and signs because this understanding of language underpins what is taken for granted by most scholars working within the broad field of linguistics.

## 2.2. Saussure on Language and the Linguistic Sign:

The Saussurean notion of the linguistic sign naturally builds on his understanding of what constitutes language (including what does not form part of language). To understand and, in particular, to study language, Saussure argues for a distinction between language (*langue*) on the one hand and speaking (*parole*) on the other (Saussure, 1996 [1916], p. 11-13). Language is a structured system, "*a self-contained whole and a principle of classification*" (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 9). He notes that: "*what is natural to mankind is not oral speech but the faculty of constructing a language, i.e. a system of distinct signs corresponding to distinct ideas*" (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 10).

Secondly, to Saussure the speaker's active role in communication – execution – is always individual, not collective (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 13). He refers to this – the executive side – as *parole*, speaking (ibid). And speaking is not language (*langue*). Language is something more. Language includes what he refers to as the associative and coordinating faculty, and to Saussure this goes beyond the individual level (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 13-14). In other words, speaking is individual, language is collective. Speaking is executive, language is receptive and coordinating. Language is a system of signs, sound-images and mental facts, but these signs are not, according to Saussure, individual creations – at least not completely. They are the same, more or less, amongst groups of people. "*Language is not a function of the speaker; it is a product that is passively assimilated by the individual. It never requires premeditation and reflection enters in only for the purpose of classification … Speaking, on the contrary, is an individual act. It is wilful and intellectual*" (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 14).

Saussure summarises his definition of language to the following: "*Language is a well-defined object in the heterogeneous mass of speech fact. It can be localized in the limited segment of the speaking-circuit where an auditory image becomes associated with a concept. It is the social part of language, external to the individual, who by himself is powerless to create it or modify it. It exists only by virtue of a sort of contract signed by the members of a community.*" (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 14). Importantly, when summing up his definition of language, Saussure adds that: "*Linguistic signs, though basically psychological, are not abstractions; associations which bear the stamp of collective approval – and which added together constitute language – are realities that have their seat in the brain*" (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 15). And linguistic signs are not just realities, they are according to Saussure also tangible in the sense that they – through phonetic transcriptions – can be converted into written words and thus studied (ibid).

Although Saussure separates language from speaking, and assigns the former main priority, he not only recognises but also emphasises the interdependency between the two: speaking without language would make little sense, but on the other hand, language would not exist were it not for speaking. Speaking, although individual, ensures the social side of language, it is through speaking that language is assimilated (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 18-19). "*Moreover, we learn our mother language by listening to others; only after countless experiences is it deposited in our brain*" (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 19). Reception precedes production in terms of acquisition. "*Language and speaking are then interdependent; the former is both the instrument and the*

*product of the latter. But the interdependence does not prevent their being two absolutely distinct things*" (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 19). Language and speaking thus relates to what Hjelmslev would call form and substance (though usually in the reversed order, substance and form) (Dinesen, A.M., 1994, p. 38f).

To sum up, a Saussurean definition of language would hold that language is a system of signs, agreed upon collectively. Language is not an individual decision – it is not executive, but is passively assimilated by the child, and last but not least language is constituted by linguistic signs, which are in fact realities (in the brain) but tangible in the sense that the corresponding sound-images can be converted into written words. I shall dedicate the following section to the definition and discussion of signs as understood by Saussure.

### 2.2.1. The linguistic sign as understood by Saussure

"*The linguistic sign unites, not a thing and a name, but a concept and a sound-image*" (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 66). It is important to stress that by sound-image, Saussure means the sensory image or "*psychological imprint*" left in the hearer's mind (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 66). This fits, of course, with his notion that what concerns language is the part of the speaking circuit connected with the hearer, and that this part is indeed passive. The sign, according to Saussure, is two-sided; it consist of a (mental) concept and a sound-image (also mental, but less abstract than the concept) (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 66-67). By sign (*signe*) Saussure refers to the totality, i.e. the combination of concept and sound-image. Concept is also referred to as signified (*signifié*) and sound-image is referred to as signifier (*signifiant*). Saussure ascribes to the sign two main principles:

1. The arbitrary nature of the sign
2. The linear nature of the signifier

As for the arbitrary nature of the sign, Saussure means that the relationship between signified and signifier is arbitrary, i.e. there is no natural or given reason that a certain signified is linked with a certain signifier: "*it [the signifier] actually has no natural connection with the signified*" (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 69). Saussure adds that arbitrary does not mean that the speaker is free to choose whatever signifier to match a given content, in fact he stresses that a sign can only be changed collectively; arbitrary is to be understood as "*unmotivated*" (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 69). Saussure opposes the use of a symbol to the reference to the linguistic sign, because a symbol: "*is*

*never wholly arbitrary; it is not empty, for there is the rudiment of a natural bond between the signifier and the signified*" (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 68).

In relation to the linear nature of the signifier, Saussure holds that since the signifier is auditory (it is the auditory imprint made or left in the mind of the hearer), it unfolds linearly in time. In other words, it is a series of sequences, which is also visible when seen in writing. According to Saussure this is obvious, but he stresses the importance of it nonetheless. That the signifier is auditory, comprised of sounds, means that it cannot perform several acts at the same time, but only through time (Saussure, 1996 [1916], 70). This means that it is completely impossible to pronounce two, three or four phonemes at the same time; they must succeed one another in order to form a sign. It is a bit unclear what Saussure really means by this and the implications of it, but it seems to be along the same line of thought that Durst-Andersen (2011b) saw in Martinet (1949): "*the first articulation system is made up of morphemes or monemes as he calls them, i.e. minimal signs, which together form words that can be combined into sentences. The second articulation system is made up of expression units, i.e. phonemes, that do not in themselves mean anything, but whose function is to distinguish one sign from any other sign. According to Martinet, it is exactly the presence of the second articulation system that makes the linguistic sign arbitrary*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p.147).

### 2.2.2. Concluding on Saussure and the notion of the sign

Saussure's understanding of the linguistic sign as a two-side entity, a signifier and a signified, stresses the arbitrary and unmotivated relationship between expression and content. This makes sense because he understands the content as a mental concept. However, as we shall see in the following sections, there may be more to the content side than just a mental concept.

## 2.3. Durst-Andersen on Language and the Linguistic Sign

Leaving the Saussurean notion of the sign aside for a moment, I shall dedicate the following sections to a discussion of the Durst-Andersen notion of the sign, which, building on the Peircean conceptualisation of the three-sided sign, offers a more dynamic understanding in particular in relationship to the acquisition of the sign as well as a view of convention and arbitrariness that is quite different from that of Saussure.

Like Saussure, Durst-Andersen is quite clear in his definition of language. Language is: "*a structured system of symbolic, indexical and iconic signs that functions as a common means of communication and as a common frame of reference for people in a given speech community*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, 299). The definition may be short and precise, but several things are important to notice here and deserve to be elaborated. First of all, we see that Durst-Andersen follows Saussure's notion of language being a structured system of signs, but equally important to notice is that these signs are not just symbolic, but also iconic and indexical. The trichotomic thinking of Peirce (as opposed to the dichotomic thinking of Saussure) is crucial to Durst-Andersen's theories as it forms the basis of his understanding of the sign (both the simplex and the complex) as well as his understanding of acquisition and communication.

Though he favours Peirce's trichotomy when it comes to an understanding of the sign (as compared to Saussure's dichotomy), Durst-Andersen does not necessarily see the two as incompatible. He highlights that dichotomies are useful for analysis or for decomposition whereas trichotomies are useful for synthesis making or the "*construction of a mental building (a symbol, for instance, is built upon an index that is built upon an icon)*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p. 129). So the elements in the trichotomies are not in opposition or contradiction, but entail each other, include each other, build upon one another. Not in any given order, though, but in a strict relationship according to firstness, secondness and thirdness. This relationship of building upon one another enables a deeper understanding of the sign and is also what brings dynamicity into it.

Returning to the definition of language, we see that language functions both as a common means of communication, i.e. language unites us through *how* we communicate, i.e. we communicate through language, and language unites us through *what* we communicate about, i.e. we understand the same through language because the normal world surrounding us is the same. As regards the last part of the definition (the people of a given speech community), Durst-Andersen makes no explicit elaboration of how exactly 'speech community' should be understood. As I shall discuss later[1], the understanding of speech community is interesting when we try to understand the role of English (a foreign language) as a common language for non-native speakers of English.

[1] A brief discussion of 'speech community' is included in the discussion of the role of English, see Chapter 3

It follows from this definition of language that we must, in order to fully understand what it entails, take a closer look at how Durst-Andersen understands the sign, both as an icon, as an index and as a symbol. In doing so, we will go through the simple sign of a word, how this is a symbol and what this means when we acquire words, but we will also be going through what is the complex sign of utterances and what it means that these are in fact not symbols, but indexes.

### 2.3.1. The simple (linguistic) sign, the word

We take our starting point in the word: "*The simple linguistic sign deprived of its grammemes, i.e. grammatical prefixes, infixes and suffixes, is a so-called lexeme whose function is to name something*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p.130). That a word needs to be stripped of all its grammatical elements for it to be a simple sign is an important point to consider. It marks the sharp distinction made by Durst-Andersen between lexicon on one hand and grammar on the other. Both are types of signs, but of different kinds (lexicon is symbolic in nature, grammar is indexical) and should thus be kept apart.

As mentioned above, the foundation for Durst-Andersen's sign definition is deeply grounded in Peirce's notion of a sign. Just as Saussure's sign understanding is grounded in various dichotomic distinctions, Peirce's concept is based on various trichotomic distinctions. An important distinction for this project is the distinction between types of signs noted above, i.e. the fundamental distinction between icons, indexes and symbols. To discuss what makes the three kinds different from one another, we will have to introduce another of Peirce's distinctions, i.e. that of the sign itself; the distinction between representamen, object and interpretant.

As opposed to Saussure's two-sided sign with signifier as expression unit and signified as content unit, the three-sided sign of Peirce consists of a representamen, an object and an interpretant (and the relationship between the three) (Jørgensen, 1993). The representamen is what refers or mediates, we can compare it to some extent to Saussure's signifier. The object is that which is referred to and the interpretant is the interpretation or understanding that we have of it (Jørgensen, 1993). Durst-Andersen expresses the relationship between the three as follows: "*... Peirce's object and interpretant have in common that they both designate some content, and that these two types of content are linked by representamen, the expression unit*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p.130). In other words, we still find an expression unit (similar in that sense to Saussure's signifier), but we now have two content units. What separates icons, indexes and symbols from

each other, then, is the relationship between the representamen and the object. This relationship can be one of likeness, i.e. the representamen is similar to the object as e.g. a photograph is similar to the situation serving as motif for it, and we are then dealing with icons. Or it can be based on proximity, i.e. the representamen is connected to the object as e.g. the smoke is connected to the fire that caused it, and we would then have an index. And lastly it can be based on a convention, i.e. the representamen is connected to the object only through a generalised rule as e.g. the word 'bread' is connected to our perception of bread through the conventionalised rules of language, and we are then, of course, dealing with a sign of the symbolic kind (Jørgensen, 1993). For ease of understanding, Durst-Andersen labels these three kinds of relationship as de facto identity, experienced identity and understood identity, or in other words icons are based on equality, indexes on nearness and symbols on remoteness (Durst-Andersen, 2014).

Durst-Andersen elaborates Peirce's three-sided sign to his own definition of a sign. The sign, then, is an image-idea pair consisting of an expression unit (similar to Peirce's representamen), and two content units, an image-like content (similar to Peirce's object) and an idea-like content (similar to Peirce's interpretant) (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp. 130-131; Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear).

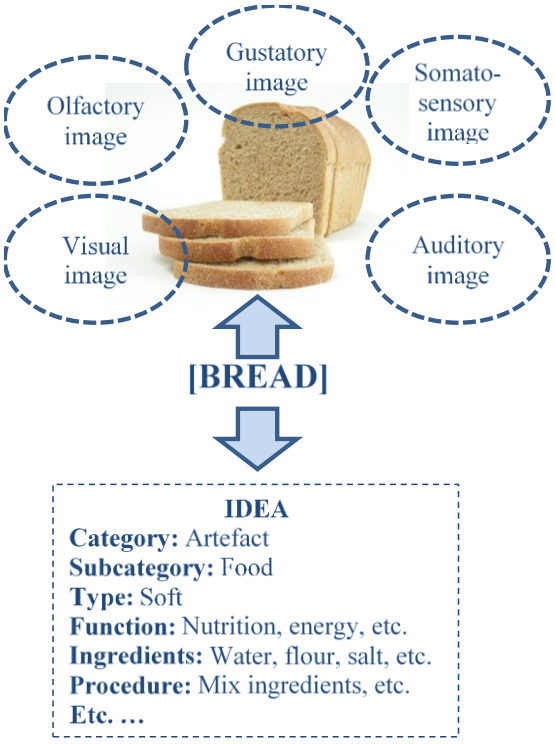


*Figure 1 An illustration of the image-idea pair of bread. Inspired by Durst-Andersen (2011a, p. 142). The auditory image is of course also connected to the expression [bread]. Photo of bread courtesy of www.freimages.com*

What does it mean, however, that the content part of the sign is split into two? It means that we are now able to distinguish two different modes of representation mediated by the expression unit: a condensed sensory representation and a condensed mental representation. Both contents are important for our understanding of words, naturally, but especially the image-part is interesting as it links the mind to the body, or anchors language in it. The image-part of a word is sensory because it is created of many concrete pictures. Pictures, in this sense, are of course perceptions based on visual sensory input, but also perception based on impression from the other sense, i.e. gustatory, olfactory, somatosensory, and auditory, as well as all the other senses that we may have (quite possibly do have) but have no name for. These concrete and unique pictures are then gradually coupled together to form the generalised image that forms the image-content of the word. Following the same line of reasoning, the idea-content of the image-idea pair is a generalised mental representation created by the synthesis of many concrete thoughts. In short, Durst-Andersen distinguishes sharply between form (image/idea) and substance (picture/thought), as I shall elaborate in the following section.

### 2.3.2. Pictures and image, thoughts and idea

Durst-Andersen's distinction between picture vs image on one hand and thought vs idea on the other is based on Peirce's distinction between dynamical object vs immediate object on the one hand and dynamical interpretant vs immediate interpretant on the other. Durst-Andersen quotes Peirce's definition of the dynamical object as a "*... perfect representation, the object as it really is*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p. 136) whereas the immediate object is "*... the imperfect representation, but, nevertheless, it is the immediate object, not the dynamical one, that is represented in the sign*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p. 136). Combining these interpretations of Peirce with Hjelmslev's form and substance, Durst-Andersen lets us see how concrete pictures make up the substance of the form that is image (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp. 135-139). In other words, the mental image that we link to a certain expression unit is a generalised, non-concrete image, which consists of the multitudes of very concrete pictures (and as mentioned pictures in this sense are not only visual perceptions but also olfactory, gustatory, somatosensory, and auditory perceptions) that we have gradually picked up and linked to the generalised image.

The same goes for the idea content, in terms of the distinction between thought and idea, which Durst-Andersen compares to Peirce's distinction between the dynamical interpretant and the immediate interpretant. Perhaps Durst-Andersen's reading of Peirce's distinction between

dynamical and immediate interpretant is best illustrated through his own words: "*The immediate interpretant is a mere possibility – nothing can guarantee that it will ever be realized. The dynamical interpretant is the actual effect in the interpreter, while the immediate interpretant incorporates what is common to different understandings of an object*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p. 137). In other words, when Durst-Andersen refers to the idea-side of an image-idea pair he refers to the generalised and abstract description that we attach to a given expression unit, i.e. a word. And this idea is in turn formed by the many concrete thoughts (dynamical interpretant in Peirce's terminology) that are at the same time both concretisations stemming from the abstract idea as well helping to create, maintain and expand the abstract idea. To use Hjelmslev's words, the concrete pictures are substance, the generalised image is form (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp.135-139).

If we allow ourselves to dwell upon this relationship between concrete and general for a moment, we come to realise how this distinction might tell us something about the relationship between perception, comprehension and acquisition. Taking the image-picture distinction as a starting point, we realise that the concrete pictures that we perceive through our senses shape the generalised image that is linked to the word, but at the same time it is the generalised image that helps us understand the pictures and associate them with the word. Perception (through senses) guides our mother tongue acquisition, but once that is acquired, it is our comprehension that guides, shapes, and influences our perception.

### 2.3.3. Illustrating the child's acquisition of words

If we apply Durst-Andersen's image-idea pair to the child's acquisition of words, we may see how first perception shapes comprehension and then acquisition, or in other words, how the concrete pictures (and later thoughts) shape the generalised image (and later the generalised idea). If we take [bread] as an example, what happens when the child is first presented with a piece of freshly baked bread and hears its mother say *bread*? The child hears its mother call it bread, sees the piece of bread, smells it, touches it, tastes it, plays with it. All these sensory impressions that the child experiences are concrete pictures. In other words, for the child there will then be an iconic relationship between the expression unit [bread] (Peirce's representamen) and the pictures it perceives of it (similar to Peirce's object), the relationship is based on equality. [Bread] is this and only this. The child is then presented with another piece of bread, this time a bland piece of toast, similar but also somewhat different to the first. Again it hears its mother call it *bread*. And

again it uses all senses creating various concrete pictures to match the expression unit [bread]. As this process repeats itself over time, the child slowly changes its perception of *bread* from an iconic relationship to an indexical relationship based on proximity; i.e. this looks like bread so it must be bread. As the child gets older and its mind matures, it starts to combine the many experiences with different kinds of bread to a more abstract conception of bread. Bread is a kind of food, a baked good, typically not too sweet, typically made of some sort of flour and water (albeit in these low-carb days, even baked goods made of broccoli and nuts will qualify as *bread*), typically served with some sort of topping. In a Peircean understanding its perception moves from an indexical relationship between object and sign to a symbolic one. Notice how for the child the relationship between object and representamen, although more complex or sophisticated, is still based on physical appearance when moving from an iconic relationship to an indexical. This changes when the relationship is symbolic. Because the sign is symbolic, it needs no physical manifestation, but can be purely thought. This is interesting because it tells us something about the composition of a word.

What we see when we apply Durst-Andersen's way of thinking, is that the child starts its road to acquisition through perception, through concrete pictures, which then turns into generalised images and, as the child's mind matures, concrete thoughts are added, which in time also turn into a generalised idea. In other words, as the child learns the word bread, the spoken expression of the word is attached to a series of images of [bread]. They are not only visual, but also olfactory (bread smells a certain way), gustatory (bread tastes a certain way) and somatosensory (bread feels a certain way) as well as all the other senses we have yet to give name to, i.e. how heavy does it feel when holding it, i.e. a complete sensory image. In fact the spoken expression of the word is in itself an auditory image. As she develops and her understanding of the world matures, the child attaches an idea to her sensory image of the word (Durst-Andersen, 2014). This idea is a series of ideas, such as category, function, etc. In terms of [bread] this could be "artefact of food kind, suitable for human consumption, crunchy on the outside and soft on the inside, made of some sort of liquid (typically water, but perhaps milk or even eggs) and some sort of flour (but could also be vegetables or even nuts), which is then baked, etc.

### 2.3.4. Verbs in contrast to nouns

In the discussion of words as symbols above, I take my starting point in the noun. This is by no means coincidental. According to Durst-Andersen, it is important to separate the noun as a sign

from the verb as a sign. They may both be symbols, but they differ in the structuring of their image-idea pair, both in relation to figure-ground relationship but also in relation to the involvement of the senses (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p.130-133). In relation to its image-idea pair, nouns are characterised, as we saw above, by evoking a mental image of either a ground (e.g. swimming pool, ocean, beach) or of a figure (e.g. dog, house, bread) in combination with its idea-content, i.e. the generalised description. The verb, on the other hand, entails an image which is a figure-ground constellation, i.e. both a figure and a ground. The image part of a verb is thus a (ground)-situation and the idea part is a (ground)-proposition. Furthermore, this image may be stable or unstable, and for some verbs it includes two interrelated images, depending on the type of verb. Durst-Andersen distinguishes between simplex verbs, consisting of only one situation which may be stable (this is the case for state verbs such as *sit* or *stand*) or unstable (this is the case for activity verbs such as *run* or *read*) and complex verbs or action verbs which includes two interrelated situations (e.g. *kill* or *buy*) (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp. 5-13, 141-147).

As an example of a state verb, the verb [stand] evokes a stable image of a figure in vertical relation to the ground (the situation) with a prototypical description such as 'X exist in vertical position on ground' (the proposition). As an example of an activity verb, the verb [run] entails an unstable image of a figure in vertical position to the ground making a running movement (the situation) accompanied by a prototypical description such as 'X produce running activity' which interestingly, as Durst-Andersen (2011, p.10) remarks, shows that the proposition of an activity verb logically entails the proposition of a state verb, for X to produce running movement, X must be in vertical position to the ground. As an example of an action verb, the verb [buy] includes both an unstable image of a figure X handing money to another figure Y holding some goods and then a stable picture of figure X in possession of the goods (and figure Y in possession of the money). The adjacent ideas or propositions are thus 'X produce an activity (in relation to Y)' and 'the goods exist with X'. As for the relationship between the images (situations), Durst-Andersen (2011, p.11) notes: "*the function of telicity is to point from the unstable ground-situation to the stable one and in doing so tie them together … telicity is the collective concept of causation and finality*". In other words, the relationship between the unstable situation of figure X handing money is tied to the stable situation of X being in possession of the goods (and no longer in possession of the money) through telicity. As goes for the relationship between the two ideas/propositions, Durst-Andersen (2011, p.11) notes that a: "*logical relation of implication marks the relationship between the two ground-propositions*".

To sum up, the image-idea pair of a verb is different from that of a noun, because a) the image consist of either a stable or an unstable situation, or both, and b) because the image(s) and idea(s) include both a figure and a ground (and the relationship between them), i.e. a figure-ground constellation. Another important difference between nouns and verbs is the involvement of the different senses in the pictures that come to shape the generalised image. As mentioned before, for the common noun all sensory perceptions go into making the generalised image, creating a strong bond between body and mind, through what Durst-Andersen, inspired by neuropsychology, has labelled an engram: a network of sensory impressions and memories that are activated by the expression unit (Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear). However, as for the verbs, this is not entirely the same. As we saw above, the image part of a verb's image-idea pair is highly linked to the visual perception. The concrete pictures that make for the generalised, abstract image of a verb, thus, are visual pictures. Although, as Durst-Andersen, points out, some verbs will highlight another sensory impression than the visual, e.g. the verb [stomp] is likely to include both visual pictures as well as auditory ones. Likewise, it is quite possible to imagine that e.g. emotion verbs will involve other sensory impressions aside from the visual.

Common for the two kinds of symbols, though, is the way they are acquired in our mother tongue, i.e. gradually through the transformation of concrete pictures and thoughts into generalised, abstract images and ideas. What this means is that the word, when a child familiarises itself with it, is always embedded in a context, in culture, ensuring the link between language and culture. A word is acquired through its multitude of concrete applications, which then become crystalized into an abstract image and an abstract idea mediated by an expression unit. The extension of the word comes to form its intension.

## 2.4. Concluding on language as a system of signs

The expansion of the word from a Sausurrean dichotomy of signifier and signified to Durst-Andersen's trichotomy of expression – image – idea is interesting and insightful for several reasons. First of all, it gives us new insight into the relationship between expression and content. The Sausurrean perspective highlights the arbitrary connection between signifier and signified, the relationship between expression and content is unmotivated, but when we split the content into an image-idea pair, we see that although the relationship between image and expression is indeed arbitrary, the connection between idea and expression is not necessarily. In fact, it is often

quite motivated (Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear). As an example, the relationship between the expression [sourdough bread] and its image content is arbitrary – there is nothing in its image content that explains why it should be called *sourdough bread*, in fact it could have many different appearances and still be sourdough bread. The relationship between its ideational component [artefact of food kind, baked good suitable for human consumption, made with flour, water and sourdough to make it rise] and its expression, however, is not at all arbitrary, but highly motivated. In fact should you change one of the components of the ideational content, it could no longer be called sourdough bread. So when Saussure argues that there is an arbitrary relationship between expression and content, it implies that arbitrariness and convention is the same thing more or less. However, what Durst-Andersen & Cobley (to appear) argue is that arbitrariness is true of the relationship between the image and the expression unit, but not necessarily between the idea and expression unit; this is a relationship based on convention, the conventionalised laws of a given language. In other words, arbitrariness and convention cannot be the same. As they note: "*the conventional side or law-like aspect of language should be understood in a broader way than arbitrariness, since it concerns not two sides, but all three sides of the sign symbol*" (Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear)

Second of all, by separating the image and the idea content from each other, we are able to see how concrete sensory pictures are gradually turned into a generalised image as the child acquires its mother tongue. This gives us two important points: 1) lexicon plays a much bigger role than it is sometimes given credit for, and 2) the strong involvement of the senses is not only what explains the connection between mind and body, but also why our mother tongue is able to go into our blood and body. Though Durst-Andersen has yet to develop fully the role of culture in relation to his theories, it seems quite clear that the gradual creation of the image-idea pair through the generalisation of concrete pictures and thought also allows for the influence of culture in language.

The role of lexicon of anchoring words, not only in our mind, but also in our body show why our mother tongue is such a powerful tool for communication. The question then arises what happens when we communicate in another language than our mother tongue. The process of learning a foreign language is, for the most cases, quite different from that of acquiring a mother tongue. We do not learn words by experiencing all the different uses of them. And even when we learn from context, it is often not a sensory context but rather an intellectual one. This is not to suggest that learning a foreign language is hopeless or pointless. Quite the opposite, in fact! Learning a foreign

language is in many ways opening a door into a new world, a new culture, perhaps even a new way of looking at ourselves. But learning a foreign language is in most cases a project of the mind rather than the senses. So what does that mean for our comprehension in a foreign language? Words in our mother tongue have the power to function as engrams, as Durst-Andersen mentions, like the switch of a button igniting a range of bodily anchored pictures. Is it possible to achieve that level of comprehension in another language than our mother tongue? And does this matter for communication?

Another question arises. If the way we acquire our mother tongue is also what makes room for culture in language – what links culture and language – then learning another language is also, to some extent at least, learning another culture, the culture of that language. Learning English then would be to also familiarise ourselves with the British culture, or the American, or the New Zealand or the Canadian or the Australian or whichever English we aim to learn. But what if English is not linked to any specific culture, but to no culture or to all? This is the way that English is often used in today's globalised world: a common means of communication for speakers of different mother tongues. In the next chapter, I shall discuss the interesting but perhaps challenging role of English in communication.

# 3. On the Role of English

## 3.1. Introduction

The aim of this project is to investigate the comprehension of English texts by non-native speakers. But what exactly is meant by English in this connection? The phrasing 'non-native speakers' suggests an intrinsic opposition to native speakers, and indeed my data includes a group of British native speakers of English to serve as 'control group'. The fact that my participants are students seems to suggest that they are still learners of English. This opposition between native and non-native speaker in combination with a (second language) acquisition perspective seem to indicate that by English I mean the standardized British (or American, but my participants are native British speaker) English typically taught in schools around the world. It also implies that there is a right comprehension, which would be that of the native speakers, and which should be the guideline against which the comprehension of the non-native speakers is assessed or evaluated. However, this would build on the assumption that there is such a thing as a unified, homogeneous (British) native speakers' comprehension against which non-native speakers' comprehension may be evaluated. Yet this might not be the case. As Baker (2016, p. 78) argues: "*the appropriateness of measuring competence against an ill-defined and imaginary native English speaker (NES) baseline is questionable in relation to the types of communication many language learners and users of English engage in*".

The spread of English in today's globalized world is immense, which has created a shift in the role – and perhaps also in the ownership – of English. If in fact there are more non-native speakers than native speakers of English (Rubdy & Saraceni, 2005, p.5), can I then really justify conceptualizing English as merely that of its native speakers? Not to mention suggesting that native English would only be British English or American English. Furthermore, returning to the aim of both my own project as well as the overall GEBCom project, our interest was never to look for right or wrong in terms of comprehension (or – in the case of the overall GEBCom project – speech act production or word associations), but rather to investigate possible differences in comprehension. Simply classifying these differences as wrong, or as a lack of proficiency, does not help us understand these differences. But, if English is more than just the language of its native speakers, what exactly is it then? And what are the implications of this? In the following sections, I shall briefly discuss English as a lingua franca for communicating with other cultures, the conceptualisation of English that it entails, and how this may – or may not be – relevant for my

project. Before starting this discussion, I shall brief touch upon the GEBCom use of Global English.

## 3.2. What is the GEBCom Global English?

The GEBCom project uses the term Global English, but no real definition or explanation of what this means for the understanding of English is actually given. McArthur (2004) discusses the notions of 'world', 'international' and 'global' in relation to English, highlighting the complexity in that the words in combination with English at times are synonymous and at times indicate great contrast. Whereas both World English(es) and international English/English as an international language or English as a lingua franca, as is now more common, seem to be more established areas of research, with both common as well as different areas of interest, Global English is less so (McArthur, 2014). As far as the Global English in the GEBCom project goes, for now it will suffice to say that global is meant to indicate that it is an English used by many different nationalities in a globalised world, be it as a foreign language or a lingua franca. In the following, I shall discuss how exactly I interpret this understanding of English for my project.

## 3.3. On defining English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)

ELF has many different definitions or characterisations[2]. It may be "*a particular kind of international communication which has English as a shared code used mainly by non-native speakers to communicate with one another*" (Rubdy & Saraceni, 2005, p.8, my emphasis). Following one of Seidlhofer's earlier characterisations: "*a lingua franca is a 'contact language' between persons who share neither a common language nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication*" (Seidlhofer, 2005, p.41, my emphasis) and according to one of her more recent definitions, which is also currently the one in use by the VOICE official website: "*any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option.*" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.7 via VOICE, 2017, my emphasis). Interestingly in their ELF state of the art article, Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey quotes the VOICE definition of ELF as an "*additionally acquired language system which serves as a common means of communication for speakers of different first languages*" (Jenkins, Cogo, & Dewey, 2011, p.283, my emphasis).

[2] Interestingly, Seidlhofer purposely avoids the word 'definition' in her 2005 discussion of ELF, but prefers the word characterisation, stating that "*language varieties do not readily lend themselves to definitions as such*" (Seidlhofer, 2005, p.41). It is unclear if she means to say that ELF is a language variety.

English in the ELF conceptualisation is thus either (or perhaps both) a shared code, a contact language, a communicative medium of choice and/or an additionally acquired language system serving as common means of communication. What would this shared code, additionally acquired language system or contact language then entail? Would it imply that a language can be common even when the culture is not? Can we share a language without sharing a culture? Is it even possible to separate language and culture like this? Reality seems to be that we try. Even if not always completely successful, using English as a common language amongst non-native speakers is everyday life both within the world of business and the world of academia. But what are the limitations and implications of this?

### 3.4. An ELF core?

The conceptualisation of English within ELF seems to have undergone some debate and development throughout the last decade. Part of this debate relates to the notion of an ELF core and whether there could be (and should be) one or several ELF models, i.e. a discussion of a monolithic approach as opposed to a pluricentric approach. Jenkins' (2005) work on ELF pronunciation worked to establish certain ELF core features of pronunciation, but from a pluricentric approach in the sense that variation in pronunciation or influence from L1 pronunciation in the pronunciation of English should not necessarily be seen as an error (compared to ENL), but could just as well constitute innovations "*whose effect is to appropriate English in order to make it more appropriate for, respectively, German-English and Japanese-English users*" (Jenkins, 2005, p.35) (her examples include German-English and Japanese-English). However, as Jenkins (2005) also notes, the pluricentric approach has an intrinsic challenge of balancing variations with a common ground. She notes: "*if a policy of pluricentricity is pursued unchecked, in effect a situation of 'anything goes', with each Expanding Circle L1 group developing its own English pronunciation norms, there is a danger that their accents will move further and further apart until a stage is reached where pronunciation presents a serious obstacle to lingua franca communication*" (Jenkins, 2005, p.35). For Jenkins this common ground should be intelligibility. The core ELF pronunciation is that which is intelligible for its speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds and, according to Jenkins, this is to be decided by the ELF speakers themselves rather than imposed by ENL norms (Jenkins, 2005, pp.35-36).

The idea of a core ELF is criticised by Sowden (2012), especially in relation to teaching, partly, he argues, because many learners would prefer to learn English according to native speaker norms, and partly because he questions how to determine a core, how to codify ELF, in a way that allows for teaching and suggest that such a core, when teaching it, would reflect a monolithic approach to English. Although much of Sowden's critique was refuted by Cogo (2012), interesting questions about the conceptualisation of English in ELF still remain. Cogo, (rightfully, I should think) argues that what learners of English want to learn is greatly influenced by ideology (i.e. native English is superior to non-native English) and English language teaching should (and is also starting to, according to Cogo) question this ideology. In terms of ELF being a monolithic approach through an ELF core, Cogo (2012) argues – much in line with what Seidlhofer did already in her (2005) discussion of the misconceptions regarding ELF – that ELF has always, even when speaking of codification and ELF core, been about a pluricentric approach to English: "*The reality is that ELF communication can both show characteristics that localize it and make it a typical of a certain region, but it can also be fluid and realized in transnational, or international, networks and movements. Therefore, what is certain is that ELF is not monolithic or a single variety because cultural and linguistic resources are inevitably transformed as they are locally appropriated*" (Cogo, 2012, p.98).

## 3.5. Local or international ELF?

The citation of Cogo (2012) above offers no further explanation to what is meant by *locally appropriated* or *typical of a certain geographical region* (as opposed to an international or transnational one). What are the implications of a common means of communication that is fluid and international, but at the same time locally appropriated? What does this mean in terms of the relationship between ELF and the mother tongue, i.e. the relationship between language, thought and culture? That ELF may be localized or typical of a certain region suggests that we could speak of a Russian ELF or a Danish ELF, yet this seems contradictory to a fluid and transnational understanding.

Kirkpatrick (2005), in discussing the role of English in relation to teaching English, makes an interesting distinction between a nativized model of English and a lingua franca model. The difference between the nativized and the ELF model seems to reside, at least partly, in how the element of culture is incorporated. A nativized model would incorporate cultural elements from the L1 culture it is nativizing (Kirkpatrick, 2005). In some sense, it is 'owned' by the L1 culture.

The ELF model, on the other hand, is "*the property of all, and it will be flexible enough to reflect the cultural norms of those who use it*" (Kirkpatrick, 2005, p.79). According to Kirkpatrick, what is great about a nativized model of English (he uses the Australian Aboriginal English as an example) is its possibility to serve as a marker of identity, but this is the exact same thing that might make the nativized model less appropriate for intercultural communication, as it can create misunderstandings (Kirkpatrick, 2005, pp.79-80). The cultural encoding of the nativized model is what gives it strength as an identity marker. It would seem that it is the very same thing that creates problems in an intercultural situation.

Would this mean, then, that an ELF model would not face such problems because it is not nativized, not culturally embedded? As Kirkpatrick himself notes: "*I do not see a lingua franca model as being a single standard, devoid of cultural influences […] I think it is inevitable and desirable that speakers will transfer some of the pragmatic norms of their L1 to lingua franca English*" (Kirkpatrick, 2005, p.80). But to him, this is not the problem of ELF, rather its strength: "*When communication becomes the primary focus, users of lingua franca English become free from standard monolithic norms. And, as communication is the goal, the danger of mutually unintelligible lingua franca Englishes developing disappears*" (Kirkpatrick, 2005, p.80). Does this mean that because ELF is the property of everyone, as Kirkpatrick suggests, it has no naturally embedded cultural norms, but lends itself to any cultural interpretation its users might desire? This line of reasoning squares with Seidlhofer's argument of the three maxims of intercultural communication: "*expect differences in ways of interacting, expect uncertainty, expect misunderstandings*" (Seidlhofer, 2005, p.44). And this again highlights the need for strong communication skills.

The element of culture in ELF settings is often referred to as the sociocultural or linguacultural background of the ELF users (e.g. in Cogo 2012; Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011), also suggesting a focus on context of a broader kind. Risager (2012) understands linguaculture (also referred to as languaculture) as: "*the idea that there is culture in language or that language practice is cultural practice itself*" (Risager, 2012, p. 3), but also emphasises the transnational perspective of this: "*In this view, the concept of languaculture is used as a term that on the one hand emphasizes that language always has cultural dimensions, and on the other hand shows that language and its languaculture can be dissociated from one cultural context and integrated into a new one*" (Risager, 2012, p. 2). Even if the notion of culture, a notion which I shall not discuss further,

follows this understanding of linguaculture as being able to disconnect and reconnect to different contexts, what about the language part of linguaculture? Is it also possible for this to disassociate itself from its original language into a new? This is not to suggest that ELF research denies the possible influence of the mother tongue on the use (and understanding) of ELF, rather it emphasises the importance of this in several ways.

In fact, the bilingual or often multilingual background of the ELF user is often highlighted as being a resource for ELF users to enhance communication, i.e. they make reference to their foreignness as something positive, something that unites them, and they draw on their own linguistic background to enrich their ELF rather than limit it (Cogo, 2012; Cogo, Jenkins & Dewey, 2012; Deterding, 2013). "*A case in point is that ELF speakers will often introduce elements or distinctions that are important to them but not encoded in Standard English: the most striking example here are translations, often accompanied by explanations*" (Seidlhofer, 2005, p.47). Even though Seidlhofer uses translation of phrases or idioms from our mother tongue as an example, it may be possible to imagine that speakers would introduce other elements from their mother tongue, too, perhaps even certain grammatical distinctions that are natural (perhaps inevitable) to make in a mother tongue but not in ELF. Grammatical distinctions in the mother tongue that are somehow so fundamental to its speakers that they have to be transferred into ELF. But transferred is not the right word to use as it suggests a mere one-to-one movement. Rather than transferred a distinction could be translated (as expressions or idioms were, according to Seidlhofer) into ELF, expressed in one way or another. A grammatical distinction such as e.g. the Russian distinction between the perfective and imperfective aspect or the Danish use of particles could be expressed through choice of words or syntactic structuring in ELF. The question is if or how these distinctions are then picked up by the other person(s), who may have another mother tongue with other fundamental distinctions, and what the consequences of this are in terms of successful ELF communication.

The role of the mother tongue in ELF communication leads to another unanswered question, namely how much variation can be accepted before intelligibility is lost (Jenkins, 2005, discussed above). This is of course relevant in relation to pronunciation, but also in relation to understanding in general. Deterding (2013) discusses the different layers of intelligibility or understanding in relation to ELF, referring to Smith's (1992) "*helpful distinction between three different kinds of understanding: intelligibility: recognition of words and utterances, comprehensibility:*

*understanding the meaning of words an utterances and interpretability: understanding the meaning behind words and utterances"* (Deterding, 2013, 9). In his work with misunderstandings in ELF, he emphasises that although ELF communication is for the most often quite successful, misunderstandings do occur both in terms of pronunciation (he links this to the concept of intelligibility or tokens of misunderstandings) as well as in terms of words and utterances (he links this to the concept of comprehensibility or instances of misunderstandings). It is possible to imagine that the mother tongue could have an influence in the way we understand ELF and how or where this influence is could shed some light on the nature of these misunderstandings. ELF is not a single variety of English (Cogo, 2012; Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011), there is no one ELF or standard ELF, ELF allows for numerous variations from its users. If it is free to be everything, can it then be anything?

That communication is crucial in the ELF conceptualisation of English is also seen in the shift in research from focusing on linguistic features only to focusing of the communicative functions behind the features (Cogo, 2012; Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011). Or in other words, the special linguistic features of ELF are interesting not less so because they represent differences in form compared to ENL, but because these forms express certain communicative functions. Investigating precisely what the communicative functions behind the forms are is what ELF research is all about (Cogo, 2012; Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011). A focus on practices and processes also means a preference for naturally occurring data and for investigating what makes ELF communication work. And what makes ELF communication work seems to be very much linked to the intercultural communicative competences of the ELF users (Cogo, 2012; Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011). In this sense, the many variations in English that are encompassed by the ELF conceptualisation of English – the multilingual nature of ELF – is less of a problem and more of an advantage in communication (ibid.).

### 3.6. Variety and community

Discussing how English is conceptualised within ELF, in comparison to other conceptualisations of English within for example EFL or WE or even ENL, is of course a discussion of what English may be, but this discussion is very much linked to the discussion of who is speaking it. Cogo (2012) suggests that the traditional linguistic concepts of 'variety' (what is spoken) and 'community' (who speaks it) should be reconsidered in relation to ELF, making them less geographically bound and more fluid to fit the fluid nature of the ELF users. She refers to the

notion of 'community of practice' as better suitable for capturing ELF groups (ibid.). In that sense, I suppose, rather than having a geographically anchored definition of 'community', i.e. I belong to the community of Danish native speakers from Denmark, we have a contextually anchored definition; i.e. I belong to the community of practice of ELF speakers because I in this moment find myself in a communication situation speaking English with other interlocutors also non-native speakers of English. That I am a Danish non-native speaker of English in communication with a Russian and a Norwegian non-native speaker of English is not what defines my community. What defines it is that we are in a communication situation together through English. Rather than being divided by our different geographical backgrounds, we are united through the practice of communicating in English with other non-native speakers of English.

The notion of community of practice is explored and discussed in detail by Ehrenreich (2009) who argues that what communities of practice actually refers to is yet to be fully explored within ELF research, but an important point is that they are in their nature smaller than the standard speech community and that instead of a joint ELF community of practice, it makes more sense to speak of several individual communities of practice. Ehrenreich (2009, pp. 131-134) elaborates on Wenger's (1998, 75-78) three criteria for what constitutes a community of practice, i.e. *mutual engagement*, *joint enterprise* and *shared repertoire*. Mutual engagement refers to the fact that the members of a community of practice must come together and actually interact with each other. They must create bonds, which suggests that a community of practice does actually spand over time (and mediums too, Ehrenreich mentions both phone, email, meetings, coffe talk). As for joint enterprise, Ehrenreich discusses Wenger's notion of it and describes it as "*some kind of goal or purpose which is defined explicitly or implicitly and shaped by the participants …*" (Ehrenreich, 2009, p.132). A crucial point of this, according to Ehrenreich, is that the joint enterprise must be created by the participants (implicitly or explicitly) and not the researcher. And finally, shared repertoire deals with: "*the production of a shared repertoire, linguistic, symbolic, or material etc., over time, as a resource for the negotiation of meaning within the community […] The linguistic aspects of this shared repertoire, its components and its formation are, of course, what is of particular interest to ELF research*" (Ehrenreich, 2009, p.133).

If we remember Durst-Andersen's definition of language as: "*a structured system of symbolic, indexical and iconic signs that functions as a common means of communication and as a common frame of reference for people in a given speech community*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, 299), we

might perhaps relate Durst-Andersen's notion of "*a common frame of reference for people in a given speech community*" with Ehrenreich's notion of a shared (linguistic) repertoire for negotiating meaning within the community. They both emphasise the creation of meaning based on a shared repertoire or a common frame of reference, i.e. language is part of what unites the participants in a given speech community or community of practice. And both give way to the influence of culture in a shared repertoire or a common frame of reference. However, the difference between Durst-Andersen's semiotic understanding and Ehrenreich's sociolinguistic understanding seems to be in how they define language and culture. For Ehrenreich these are clearly contextually bound, whereas for Durst-Andersen they are linked to the mother tongue.

As for the need to redefine 'variety', Cogo (2012) notes that the traditional understanding of it as "*the type of language spoken by a precise speech community […] identified in a precise geographical area*" (Cogo, 2012, p.98) should be expanded to an ELF understanding that is not at all bound by a geographically understood community. It would seem that ELF is not a variety in the traditional sense of the concept (Cogo, 2012; Deterding 2013), there is no *one* ELF, but it is still possible to talk of shared features and something that sets it apart from ENL and EFL. Cogo (2012) remarks that: *research in this area is not about identifying the core features that make ELF a variety (which it is not), but […] it is about describing the practices involved in lingua franca communication*" (Cogo, 2012, p.98). If ELF is not a variety, then what is it? This may be what Sewell, (2013) means when he questions the sharp distinction between ELF and ENL in relation to language variety: "*in many cases it is problematic to argue for the distinctiveness of language varieties based on the occurrence of language features, partly because these are used variably within speech communities*" (Sewell, 2013, p.5). In other words, how can linguistic variation be what makes ELF different or even a variety (or several) compared to ENL if variations also happen within ENL? What he seems to be questioning is how much variation is needed and how systematic it should be for it to distinguish one variety from another.

But also in terms of 'community', the distinction between ELF and ENL is questioned by Sewell. The fluidity that characterises the nature of the ELF 'community of practice' is, according to Sewell, not necessarily different from the fluidity that characterises any communication situation. In his non-essentialist approach to language, Sewell (2013) proposes that the concept of a speech community will always be fluent and "*defined in terms of actual or potential communicative interaction*" (Sewell, 2013, p.5). Hence the need for the concept of 'community of practice', as

suggested by Cogo (2012) in line with general ELF research, to capture the transient and fluid nature of ELF users would disappear, since the concept of 'speech community' in a non-essential understanding of language would capture both ELF users and ENL users, making the distinction between them less important.

## 3.7. Concluding on English as a Lingua Franca

As the discussion above suggests, the notion of English as a lingua Franca is complex for many good reasons. It is a common means of communication for people who share neither a common culture nor a common language. It consists of common features, but allows for numerous variations. It is at the same time international and localised. It incorporates no culture of its own, but allows incorporation of any culture of its users. Some scholars, for instance (Phillipson, 2016), criticise it for a *lingua nullius*, i.e. serving and promoting the spread of American consumerist capitalism. In theory it seems almost impossible how English as a lingua franca should work, but in practice it seems to do so. At least that is what research confirms; ELF communication is for the most often successful (Deterding, 2013, p. 14). And even if parts of it are problematic, for instance the role of the mother tongue in ELF communication, the view that English as a lingua franca does not have to be judged against English as a native language, that variation can be a sign of diversity rather than error, is refreshing and also intriguing for this project.

## 3.8. The English of the GEBCom reception test

If the definition of ELF is as mentioned in the beginning, i.e. a shared code, a contact language, a communicative medium of choice for people who do not share neither a common language nor a common culture, it seems reasonable to question whether my data is at all ELF data or if my participants in any way constitute a community of practice. That the data from the GEBCom reception test could be considered a contact point for non-native speakers of English is perhaps too farfetched. Indeed, it is the comprehension of English texts by Russian, Chinese and Japanese speakers of English that is of interest for this project, and in that sense the English texts might be seen as a point of contact. On the other hand, the texts, although composed by non-native speakers of English (in addition to my native language of Danish, the GEBCom team includes native speakers of Russian and Chinese who engaged in discussions about the texts), are written in an English meant to resemble standard British English. Following this line of thought, what I am really investigating is the comprehension of standard British English texts by non-native speakers of English from Russia, China and Japan, respectively. In that sense, one could argue that what

we are dealing with, then, is not English as a lingua franca, but rather English as a foreign language.

But perhaps the distinction between ELF and EFL is not always a sharp one, and perhaps for the purpose of this project, the two are somewhat merged. No doubt, the overall aim of the total GEBCom Project is to gain new insight into English as a common means of communication for non-native speakers of English, i.e. very much along the lines of the ELF conceptualisation of English. And no doubt, the aim of my project within the GEBCom Project is doing so through the investigation of the comprehension of English texts by native speakers of Japanese, Chinese and Russian. The question remains, however, if my participants (i.e. university students) represent English users or English learners? If I describe them as learners, it would mean that I should test for comprehension in relation to acquisition solely. Differences in comprehension would thus be interpreted as differences in acquisition or proficiency. In other words, differences are an expression of more or less comprehension, i.e. more or less acquisition. There is a right and a wrong answer, and the right answer is that which follows the answer of the native speakers of English. Indeed, calling the native speakers of British English the 'control group' very much underlines this conception.

However, this is not the aim of my project. Rather than looking at differences from a right/wrong acquisition perspective, I look at differences as expressing just that; differences in comprehension which are not more or less right compared to native speakers, but simply different. And I discuss if these differences could relate to differences in mother tongue. By this, I do not mean to suggest that SLA research is indifferent to differences in comprehension being related to differences in mother tongue or L1, indeed the whole area of cross-linguistic influence has this as its main focus, but the point of departure still relates to acquisition, and how this influence (which may be from L1→ L2 but is likely also to be L2→L3 and even L2→L1) interferes with acquisition. I do not look at acquisition, I look at comprehension. So what does this mean for the conceptualisation of English for this project? It means that I acknowledge that my data is not strictly ELF data; it does not represent ELF communication. It draws on theories from communication as well, and it pays great attention to the mother tongue in comprehension of English texts. However, I do so with the mindset of ELF in the sense that I do not interpret differences as errors, but simply differences or variations. And my hope is that this project, by shedding light on certain elements of

comprehension, may also contribute to the understanding of how English works when used by non-native speakers in communication.

# 4. On Comprehension as Part of Communication

## 4.1. Introduction

Investigation the comprehension of English texts by non-native speakers of English no doubt entails looking more closely at what constitutes comprehension. Based on the discussion of EFL vs ELF in the previous chapter one could rightly pose the question whether we are dealing with comprehension for acquisition or comprehension for communication. Looking at comprehension from an acquisition perspective would imply looking at how comprehension might play a role in the acquisition of a foreign (or second) language or how comprehension might differ at different stages of learning or in different contexts of learning. Comprehension for communication purposes, on the other hand, would imply a focus on which role comprehension plays in communication, how the relationship between comprehension and production would play out, or what might ensure or hinder communication from the point of view of the hearer. Though the first approach would no doubt be interesting when investigating English as a foreign language, I choose the latter approach as I want to look at English from a lingua franca perspective in the sense that even though I consider my participants to be both learners and users of English, I focus on their role as users of or communicators in English.

Consistent with the overall framework of communicative supertypes, I shall discuss the notion of comprehension and its role in communication, which follows from the understanding of language as a system of signs laid out in Chapter 2. Before commencing, however, I want to make a brief comment about the nature of comprehension. Even though both theories from SLA as well as Durst-Andersen's theories offer their take on comprehension and what it entails, none of them would probably claim to be able to give the full picture. What fully goes on inside the mind of the hearer when she comprehends something, be it verbal, written or otherwise communicated, will most likely always remain a mystery. While this is an important point to remember, especially when drawing up conclusions about comprehension, it should not keep us from trying to gain insight into those parts of comprehension that might be available to us through carefully elaborated models.

## 4.2. From words to utterances: the role of grammar in communication

Chapter 2 discussed the word as a simple sign, i.e. a symbol consisting of an image-idea pair. The discussion of the lexeme as a simple sign, a trichotomy consisting of an expression and the two-

sided content image-idea pair, shows how important a role lexicon plays in anchoring language in the body and in culture. But lexicon alone does not make language the powerful tool for communication that it is. For a consequence of the sign being a symbol is that it becomes static (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp.144-155). Keeping in mind that the image-idea pair consists of a generalised, abstract image coupled with a generalised abstract idea, we see that what makes the word so powerful is the same thing that makes it static, i.e. the abstract nature of the image-idea pair for *bread* makes it possible for it to refer to any kind of *bread*, this is its strength, but it cannot on its own refer to a specific or a concrete realisation of *bread*, this is its weakness. Durst-Andersen describes this as the omnipotence and the impotence (static nature) of the word (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp.144-155; Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear). Words can name, but for them to refer to something specific, they need the help of an index, they need grammar: "*grammar is the tool or vehicle that carries the name to the right place*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p.154).

When we look at grammar, we move from the simple sign to the complex sign, from words to utterances. In Saussurean terms, we move from language, *langue*, to language use, *parole*. In Durst-Andersen's application of Peircean terms, we move from symbols to indexes. Durst-Andersen stresses that utterances cannot be symbols; this would make no sense. If they were, a child would have to learn all sentences by heart, as she does with words, in order to later be able to (re)produce them herself. This is, obviously, hardly the case. If so, language would lose all its productivity. It is because of grammar that we are able to produce (not reproduce) any utterance we want as well as be able to understand utterances we have not heard before (Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear).

Durst-Andersen's understanding of grammar and its crucial role in communication builds on the classic Organon model by Bühler, but also departs greatly from it. Bühler's overall idea is that any given communication situation will always include three obligatory participants, i.e. a speaker/sender, a hearer/receiver and a 'reality'/situation[3]. A function of language corresponds to each of these obligatory participants. However, though Durst-Andersen agrees to the expressive function for the speaker (a symptom) and to the appeal function for the hearer (a signal), he greatly disagrees with Bühler's representative function being a symbol, as symbols do not have a

[3] In his previous works, e.g. (Durst-Andersen, 2011a), Durst-Andersen uses the terms speaker, hearer and reality, but in his most recent work (Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear) he prefers the terms sender, receiver and situation. The shift illustrates his shift from concentrating on linguistics to focusing his work on communication.

communicative function. As mentioned, symbols cannot refer, they only name. Instead of a symbol, the representative function should be linked to what he calls a *model* (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, 148-150). In other words, we now have three kinds of indexes: models (corresponding to Bühler's representative function), symptoms (corresponding to Bühler's expressive function) and signals (corresponding to Bühler's appeal function). As all three functions are always present in language, any utterance will always be both a model representing a part of a certain situation in reality, a symptom expressing how the speaker feels about that certain situation in reality, as well as a signal appealing to the hearer (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp. 148-152; Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear).

However, even what we call the situation or reality may be more than just one thing when seen from a communication situation point of view. If we consider that a communication situation always involves three participants: a speaker, a hearer, and a situation in reality to which the speaker and hearer refer in their communication, then reality itself might be said to exist in not one but three modalities :"*(1) the situation as such; (2) the situation as it is experienced or is not experienced by the speaker; (3) the situation as it is experienced or is not experienced by the hearer. This means that one must refer to the situation itself, to the speakers experience of it or to the information intended for the hearer*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p.155). Utterances, i.e. communication, will therefore always reflect a situation in reality, an experience of the situation and information to the hearer about the speaker's experience of the situation.

| **Bühler's three functions of language** | **The three indexes in utterances** | **The three modalities of reality in a communication situation** |
|---|---|---|
| Representative function | Model | The **situation** in reality |
| Expressive function | Symptom | The speaker's **experience** |
| Appeal function | Signal | **Information** to the hearer |

*Table 1 A comparison of the different trichotomies relevant to the understanding of how utterances work in communication*

In other words, and as the table above illustrates, any utterance will always be both a model of a situation in reality (corresponding to Bühler's representative function), a symptom of the speaker's experience (corresponding to Bühler's expressive function) and a signal of information to the hearer (corresponding to Bühler's appeal function). Yet although all three are always

present in an utterance, and as such always part of the communication process, for communication to work we must take our starting point in just one of them. This is exactly what grammar does. The speaker and hearer will have to agree on a common starting point, and the grammar of a language is exactly this conventionalised agreement of which representation of reality to point at; the situation itself, the speaker's experience of it, or the information to the hearer about the speaker's experience about it. They will go through all three, but they have to agree on where to start. Grammar, in this sense, functions as an overall index indicating focus on either the situation, on the speaker's experience or on information to the hearer.

### 4.3. The communication process and the role of comprehension

This process is what Durst-Andersen (2011a) calls the *communication process*. Grammar in this connection serves as the common code mediating between speaker and hearer in communication, and is referred to as the *output* in the communication process. Before output lies the speaker's *input*, and following output is the hearer's *intake*[4]. Strongly simplified, the communication process could be visualised as below:


*Figure 2 The Communication Process simplified*

However, input, output, and intake are only the products of the processes which take place at that stage of communication. This means that for each of the three products listed above we see three corresponding stages of communication, each relating to one of the three obligatory participants in a communication situation, i.e. *naming* which relates to the speaker and leads to input, *framing* which relates to the reality common to both speaker and hearer and leads to output, and *anchoring* which relates to the hearer and leads to intake (Durst-Andersen, 2011a; Dust-Andersen & Cobley, to appear). We might then elaborate the visualisation above to the following:

[4] Please note that the concepts input, output, intake as used here to explain the communication process differ from the related concepts input, intake and outcome used to discuss the processing of visual stimuli, i.e. perception. For a full discussion of input, intake and outcome in relation to perception, see Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp. 29-65.Subsequently, their use here as stages of communication also differs from the standard use of the terms within the SLA literature, as discussed by for instance Truscott, J. & Sharwood Smith, M. (2011) and Reinders (2012).

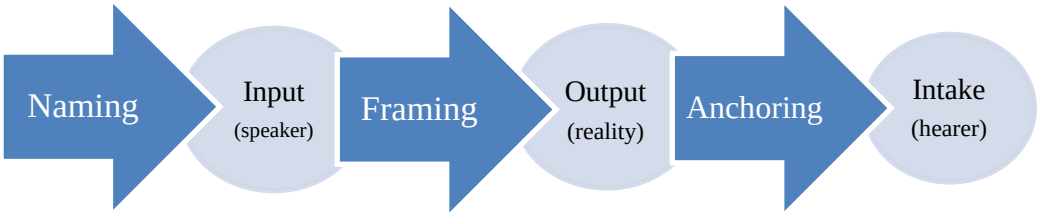


*Figure 3 The Communication Process elaborated*

In relation to the role of comprehension, we see from the visualisations that this must relate to the stage of anchoring and the corresponding intake. As mentioned, reality may be said to exist in three modalities in a communication situation (situation in reality as it is, as experienced by the speaker and as experienced by the hearer), which means that all three modalities will be present in the utterance as well. As for comprehension: "*the hearer knows that any utterance in any language involves a model of a situation in a real or imagined world, a symptom of the speaker's experience of that situation and a signal to the hearer to find a match in his memory and via mental models gain access to the situation itself*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p. 152). In other words, "*we are dealing with a relationship of both-and, not with either-or*" when it comes to comprehension (ibid.) This means that any hearer, regardless of language, will have to extract from the utterance all of this to get to the actual meaning of it. Yet as we shall see in a moment, the process by which the hearer does so is in fact dependent on language, more specifically on the supertype of the given language.

For any language the communication process will always consist of the same three stages: naming/input, framing/output and anchoring/intake and it will always have the same three components, i.e. the three representations of reality in a communication setting, i.e. situation, experience and information. But languages differ as to where they take their starting point and thus how the components are distributed across the stages. This is so because: "*the members of a speech community must agree on one of the three modalities of existence. In short, they must make a choice in order not to complicate matters for the speaker in his encoding process and for the hearer in his decoding process*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p.155). Not only do they differ, but according to Durst-Andersen they differ systematically in the sense that languages can be grouped

into three overall categories; i.e. reality-oriented languages, e.g. Russian, speaker-oriented languages, e.g. Chinese[5] and Japanese, and hearer-oriented languages, e.g. English.

In other words, though the communication process with its three stages is the same regardless of language, i.e. moving from input to output to intake, what actually constitutes the different stages and their corresponding product is not. The actual content of the communication process, and thereby the role of comprehension, depends on the supertype of the given language[6]. I shall therefore very briefly discuss the communication process for each of the three supertypes before giving extra attention to the communication process of English and especially the role of comprehension herein as English is the language of interest for this project.

### 4.3.1. The communication process for reality-oriented languages

Reality-oriented languages take their common starting point in the situation, this is the point of view conventionalised through grammar, and this is the common code for speaker and hearer.

| **Reality-oriented languages** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Stage of communication process | Naming | Framing | Anchoring |
| Process of comparison | Speaker compares own internal world to hearer's internal world | hearer's internal world is compared to the external world | Hearer compares external world to speaker's internal world |
| Result of comparison | Information | **Situation** | Experience |
| Function of result in communication process | Input | Output | Intake |

[5] It should be noted that in his earlier work, e.g. (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, 2011b, 2013), Durst-Andersen characterised Chinese as a reality-oriented language. He has later on, e.g. (Durst-Andersen, 2016) and (Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear) revised his characterisation of Chinese, so that it is now a speaker-oriented language.

[6] With this I do not mean to suggest that languages of the same supertype will have the exact same communication process and the exact same grammar. Languages vary greatly, also within supertypes! The point, however, is that it is possible to group languages into supertypes depending on how they (grammatically) relate to reality. Languages of the same supertype will therefore share the overall idea of their grammar working as an index of which modality of reality we are dealing with. The grammar of reality-oriented languages will always relate to or be an index of reality as it is, but exactly how this is done may vary. Likewise the grammar of speaker-oriented languages will always relate or be an index of to the speaker's experience of reality, but precisely which means are used to do so will vary. And finally, the grammar of hearer-oriented languages will always relate to the hearer's experience of reality by serving as information to the hearer, but how specifically this is done depends on the individual language in question. See also Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p. 155 ff).

*Table 2 The communication process of reality-oriented languages with **situation** being the common starting point for speaker and hearer in communication*

As may be seen from the table above, the stage of naming involves a process of comparison by which the speaker compares her own internal world to the internal world of the hearer and as a result gets information. If there is consistency between the speaker's own experience and (what she presumes is) the hearer's experience, this is a case of old information. If not, then it is a case of new information. In other words, information serves as the speaker's input to communication (Bentsen & Durst-Andersen, 2015, pp. 11-12). Naming is the first layer of wrapping of the speaker's intended message; put more precisely the actual *purport*[7] of the message (Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear). What the speaker chooses to say is her own personal choice and as such not determined by language or grammar, but what grammar does have an impact on is the way this input is processed and framed at the next stage.

At the stage of framing, the speaker's input is converted into output. This process is handled automatically by grammar in the sense that it is learned and internalised gradually throughout childhood and as a result feels automatic (Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear). The process of framing in reality-oriented languages means a comparison of (what the speaker assumes) is the hearer's internal world to the external world. The result is the situation, meaning that if what (the speaker assumes that) the hearer knows to be true about the external world is still true, if it is a relationship of identity, then no change has taken place and we are dealing with a state, an activity or a process. If, however, what the hearer knows to be true about the world is in fact no longer true, then a change has taken place, and we are dealing with an event (Bentsen & Durst-Andersen, 2015, pp. 11-12; Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp. 261-262). The process of framing adds an extra layer of wrapping to what was named, which means that the information which was the result of the naming process, is made covert though the utterance may still carry some traces of it (Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear). The role of grammar then is to mark whether a change has taken place or not, and the grammatical category of aspect is a prime example of this distinction and as a consequence reality-oriented languages will typically have aspect as a determinant category.

[7]Since the word *message* on its own carries a dual meaning as both the overall form and the intended meaning, Durst-Andersen purposely distinguishes between *message* as the overall utterance and *purport* as the actual intended meaning behind it, see also Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear.

From the output it is now up to the hearer to anchor the utterance to get to the intake, the complete comprehension of the utterance. The output of grammar, which you might then say serves as the hearer's input, was the situation. That is, through grammar the hearer is able to access the situation in reality. But as mentioned, the hearer knows that any utterance will be not just a model of the situation in reality, but also a symptom of the speaker's experience as well as a signal of information and full comprehension means retrieving all of this. The process of anchoring means doing just that. At the surface this may be seen as the hearer's comparison of the external world to the speaker's internal world with experience as the result (Bentsen & Durst-Andersen, 2015, pp. 11-12; Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp. 261-262). However, to be able to do so, what the hearer really does is remove the layer of wrapping that was laid on by the framing process in order to get to what was the speaker's input, i.e. information. As mentioned, this was made covert by the framing process, but there might still be traces of it in the utterance to guide the speaker as to whether this is new or old information. The second step which the hearer makes in her process of anchoring, is to remove the layer of wrapping which was put on by the speaker in the process of naming to get to what was the speaker's experience (or non-experience) of the situation and the feelings associated with it. For this the hearer is on her own, she will have to infer it and is able to do so by comparing the external world with what she presumes is the speaker's internal world (Bentsen & Durst-Andersen, 2015, pp. 11-12; Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp. 261-262; Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear).

In other words, the process of anchoring really means that the hearer backtracks the journey made by the speaker and thus ends up where the speaker started: in the speaker's internal world. Comprehension, then, means recreating in the hearer's own mind the journey made by the speaker to get to the actual purport of the message. Of course the journey made by the speaker and the journey made by the hearer can never be fully identical as they take place in separate minds so to speak. But the fact that the hearer is able to put herself in the mind of the speaker is what makes it possible for communication to work.

### 4.3.2. The communication process for speaker-oriented languages

For speaker-oriented languages the starting point is the speaker's experience; this is the point of view conventionalised through grammar, and this is the common code for speaker and hearer. At the stage of naming, the speaker compares (what she assumes is) the hearer's internal world to the external world and as a result gets to the situation. If there is consistency between the hearer's

internal world and the external world, then no change has taken place. If there is discrepancy, then a change has occurred (Bentsen & Durst-Andersen, 2015, pp. 14-22). This is the first layer of wrapping and forms the input. Again, exactly what and how the speaker chooses to name is her own personal choice and not as such controlled by language or grammar.

| **Speaker-oriented languages** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Stage of communication process | Naming | Framing | Anchoring |
| Process of comparison | Speaker compares hearer's internal world to external world | Speaker compares external world to speaker's own internal world | Hearer compares speaker's internal world to hearer's own internal world |
| Result of comparison | Situation | **Experience** | Information |
| Function of result in communication process | Input | Output | Intake |

*Table 3 The communication process of speaker-oriented languages with **experience** being the common starting point for speaker and hearer*

Grammar, however, plays a very active role in transforming this input into output at the stage of framing. This is done by the speaker comparing the external world to her own internal world with the result being experience. The speaker's experience is thus the output, the common voice for speaker and hearer in communication. The role of grammar is to mark the relationship between the speaker's internal world and the external world and the grammatical category of mood is one way to do this. Speaker-oriented languages will therefor often have mood as a determinant category though there are also other ways in which a language shows its (grammatical) focus on the speaker's experience (Bentsen & Durst-Andersen, 2015, pp. 14-22). This is the second layer of wrapping and as mentioned the process of framing makes the process of naming covert, leaving only traces of it in the actual utterance.

At the stage of anchoring, the hearer must transform the output into intake. The output left by the speaker presented the hearer with the speakers experience, however to get the full comprehension of what the speaker meant by the utterance, the hearer must also find out which situation was behind the speaker's experience and what sort of information this is. The process of anchoring in

a speaker oriented language therefore begins with the hearer removing the first layer of wrapping from the framing process to get to the speaker's input, i.e. the situation behind the experience of it. Now the process of framing covered this partly, but the utterance will most likely still contain some traces of it, which guide the hearer (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp. 262-263). The hearer now understands the utterance as a symptom of the speaker's experience and as a model of a situation in reality. The next step is for the hearer to find out what the utterance is a signal of, to find the information. She must remove a second layer of wrapping, and she does so by comparing her own internal world with what she presupposes is the speaker's internal world. The result is information, and if there is consistency between the internal worlds of the hearer and the speaker, it is a case of old information. If not, the result is new information (Bentsen & Durst-Andersen, 2015, pp. 14-22; Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp. 262-26; Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear).

As with reality-oriented languages, the process of anchoring means that the hearer recreates the journey made by the speaker but in reversed order and in her own mind. The process for a speaker-oriented language is different than that of a reality-oriented, because the common meeting point for speaker and hearer, the output, is different.

### 4.3.3. The communication process for hearer-oriented languages with special emphasis on English

Lastly, I shall go through the communication process for hearer-oriented languages, which have information as the starting point. This is the point of view conventionalised through grammar, and this is the common code for speaker and hearer.

| **Hearer-oriented languages** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Stage of communication process | Naming | Framing | Anchoring |
| Process of comparison | Speaker compares external world to own internal world | Speaker compares own internal world to hearer's internal world | Hearer compares hearer's internal world to external world |
| Result of comparison | Experience | **Information** | Situation |
| Function of result in communication process | Input | Output | Intake |

*Table 4 The communication process for hearer-oriented languages with **information** being the common starting point for speaker and hearer*

As English (both for native speakers and non-native speakers) is the language of special interest for my project, it seems only reasonable to dedicate some extra attention to the communication process as it unfolds specifically in English, and still of course focusing on the role of comprehension. In the following sections, I shall briefly discuss the three stages of communication for English as a hearer-oriented language. For ease of understanding, I shall try to illustrate the different stages through the example *I actually bought a loaf of bread today* said by the otherwise enthusiastic home baker Jane to her good friend John.

#### *4.3.3.1. On naming and input*

At the stage of naming, the speaker compares the external world to her own internal world. By internal world Durst-Andersen means the speaker's feelings, but also the four discourse worlds, i.e. the world of opinions, the world of beliefs, the world of knowledge and the world of experiences. The four discourse worlds form part of a person's mental stores, i.e. their present world store (information which is valid in the present or actual world) and past world store (information which was valid at a non-actual or previous world) (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp. 210-215, 300-301). The result of this is experience. This means that when the speaker compares the external world to her own internal world, the result from this is a symptom of her experience in the broadest sense of the concept, i.e. both as her literal experience of whether or not the outer world is consistent with her inner world, but also how this relates to her world of opinions, beliefs, knowledge and experiences. In other words, how she names this experience is her own choice and the input is therefore her own personal contribution to communication (Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear).

If we take the example *I actually bought a loaf of bread today*, then what Jane names is a comparison of the external world, *I am at the bakery buying a loaf of bread* with her own internal world, e.g. her world of opinions: *I see myself as the kind of person who always makes her own bread*, or her world of knowledge: *I know that I always make my own bread* as well as her own feelings of in connection with this. These could be surprise or perhaps even shame that she is buying bread instead of making it. The result is her own personal input to communication: *I am actually buying a loaf of bread instead of making it myself even though I think of myself as someone who makes her own bread*. In this sense, what she names becomes a symptom of her entire experience, and this then serves as input.

#### *4.3.3.2. On framing and output*

At the stage of framing, the input from the previous stage is turned into output, i.e. the speaker's experience is turned into information to the hearer. This is done by comparing her own internal world with that of the hearer. In other words, the speaker compares what is in her own mental stores with what she presumes is in the mental stores of the hearer. If the two are identical, if they match, then the output will be old information to the hearer. If they do not match, then the output will be new information to the hearer. As opposed to naming, which was the speaker's own personal contribution to communication, this process is handled automatically by the grammar of the English language. For instance, the distinction in the English tense system between present perfect and simple past represents an information-based distinction between presenting an event as news-flash (present perfect) or as a flash-back (simple past) (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp.210-211; Bentsen & Durst-Andersen, 2015, pp. 12-14). Analogously, the distinction between the definite and indefinite article mark a distinction between what is old or already known information to the hearer and what is new information (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp. 211-212).

If we return to the example *I actually bought a loaf of bread today*, we know that what Jane in fact named was her experience and the feeling involved with this through the comparison of the external world with her own internal world: *I am actually buying a loaf of bread instead of making it myself even though I think of myself as someone who makes her own bread*. At the current stage, this input will now be transformed into output, i.e. information to the hearer, John, through grammar, which serves as the common voice of speaker and hearer. What was named is now framed into: *I actually bought a loaf of bread today*. The simple past of *bought* works as information to John, signalling that this is a flash-back, the telling of a story. In Chapter 2, I discussed the composition of the image-idea pair for the verb [buy] as a symbol consisting of two mental images: an unstable image of Jane handing money to the shop boy and the stable image of Jane being in possession of something (in this case bread). Saying that the simple past works as a flash-back means that it shows both images as a series of concrete pictures in a coherent movie picture where the action is seen in its totality without focusing on any specific part.

Furthermore, the indefinite article *a* signals new information in the sense that John is not presumed to have a specific picture of that loaf of bread in his mental storage. If we relate *a [loaf of] bread* as an index to [bread] as a symbol, we see rather than an abstract image-idea pair able to describe

any bread, the indexical nature makes it specific through the adding of '*loaf of*' and unfamiliar through the indefinite article '*a*', which is a signal to John that this loaf of bread is unfamiliar and he must create his own image of it based on his general image. In other words, the symbolic nature of the word [bread] allows John to abstractly understand what Jane wants to refer to, but the indexical nature of the grammeme *a* and the specification *loaf of* in connection with [bread] makes it possible for him to understand that this is a specific bread, but unfamiliar in the sense that he is asked to create a prototypical picture of it on his mental screen.

Compare this to the example *I have actually bought the loaf of bread today*. In this, the present perfect of *have bought* is information to the hearer signalling a news-flash, equivalent to the showing of a picture of Jane holding the loaf of bread. If we relate this to the two mental images of the word [*buy*], this would be equivalent of foregrounding the stable picture of Jane being in possession of something (in this case the loaf of bread). Furthermore, the definite article *the* functions as information, signalling old information in the sense that the John already has a concrete picture of this specific loaf of bread (perhaps Jane and John have previously discussed which loaf of bread Jane likes) and now must recall it.

In other words, the process of framing transforms the input from naming into an output, which the hearer will then interpret in the next stage of communication, anchoring. It adds a second layer of wrapping and as mentioned it also to some extent hides what went on at the stage of naming, though we still see some residue, so to speak, of the input in the adverb *actually*.

#### *4.3.3.3. On anchoring and intake*

It is now the role of the hearer to anchor this information by transforming the speaker's output into her own intake. The grammar of the English language helps the hearer to understand that the utterance is a signal of information as well as which kind of information (new or old). However to get to the full comprehension, the hearer must also understand the speaker's experience as well as the situation in reality behind the experience. She does so by recreating in her own mind and in the opposite order the journey made by the speaker. The first step of anchoring is thus to remove the layer of wrapping created in the framing process to uncover the input created as a result of the naming process, i.e. the speaker's experience. As mentioned, though the naming was made covert by the framing, the utterance is likely to still hold some traces of it which may guide the hearer. But for the second step of accessing the situation behind the experience, the hearer is on her own.

She has to remove the second layer of wrapping created by the naming process. She does so by comparing her own inner world to the external world the hearer thereby gaining access to a description of the situation (Bentsen & Durst-Andersen, 2015, pp. 12-14; Durst-Andersen, 2011a, pp. 152-153, 264-265; Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear). Of course, the situation which the hearer gains access to will not be the same as the one, which formed the basis for the speaker's experience. It can only be a model of it.

Returning to the example of *I actually bought a loaf of bread today* said by Jane to her friend John, John now has to make sense of the utterance. The grammar of his mother tongue English lets him understand that this is a flash-back, the telling of a story (indicated by the simple past) showing him the entire movie. It also allows him to understand that the loaf of bread mentioned is unknown to him (new information signalled by the indefinite article). However, for a full comprehension of what Jane said, he must also understand her experience as well as the situation behind her experience. Just as any other hearer (and speaker) John knows that any utterance is always a model of a situation in reality, a symptom of the speaker's experience and a signal of information to the hearer. To understand the symbol behind the signal, the experience that was Janes input, John has to remove the layer of wrapping placed in the framing stage. The adverb *actually* guides him in this process as it indicates that Jane experienced a contrast between the external world, the situation in reality, and her own internal world, her four discourse worlds. It also indicates an element of surprise over this contrast. Putting himself in Jane's mind, John knows that this contrast must be because she holds an opinion of herself as someone who always makes her own bread and takes pride in this, and that she therefore feels surprised and perhaps even shameful to have bought some.

However, there is not much in the utterance which actually helps John understand the situation behind the experience (behind the information). For this part, he is somewhat on his own. By comparing his own internal world, i.e. what he holds in his mental stores of information about the past and present world, with the external world, i.e. what is true at the present moment, he can gain access to the situation. It will, however, never be the same situation as the one Jane actually found herself in, but only a model of it. In other words, in the process of comprehending the message and its purport John recreates in his own mind the journey made by Jane in the process of producing it. Only the order is reversed. This gives him the full comprehension that *Jane was*

*actually buying a loaf of bread although she sees herself as the kind of person who makes her own and this left her feeling surprised and perhaps even shameful*.

## 4.4. On the implications for comprehension in a mother tongue and comprehension in a foreign language

The discussions of the communication process across the three supertypes showed how speaker and hearer are able to meet in communication, first through the utterance with grammar as their common code and then secondly when the hearer in her own mind recreates the journey made by the speaker and ends up where the speaker started. In Chapter 2 I discussed why the process of acquisition of a word as first a series of concrete sensory pictures and concrete thoughts and later as an abstract symbol, i.e. the image-idea pair, showed how culture might influence language and how the lexicon of our mother tongue was anchored deeply in not only our mind but also our body, making it such a powerful tool in communication. To this we may now add the important role the grammar of our mother tongue plays. Not only does it bring dynamicity to the static word, but it also serves at the main index of language, uniting speaker and hearer communication.

Yet, how exactly grammar works depends on the supertype and the individual language. When growing up, speakers of a given language internalise the workings of grammar to a point where the process handled by grammar will feel automatic and the distinctions made by grammar go unnoticed but remain pivotal in communication. But what happens when we communicate in a foreign language? Even when we learn the grammar of a foreign language, the process by which we learn it is (usually) quite different from the acquisition process in our mother tongue. And what happens with the understanding implied by and the distinctions made by the grammar of our mother tongue? Are we fully able to shed these in favour of learning new? Or do we superimpose the indexical nature of the grammar of our mother tongue and the distinctions made by it onto the foreign language? These questions, which seem even more relevant in an intercultural ELF context, where native speakers of different languages communicate in English as a common language, lead us to briefly discuss the notion of transfer.

### 4.4.1. On the notion of transfer

The notion of transfer deserves a brief mention in the discussion of comprehension in a foreign language, regardless of whether English is conceptualised from a second language or a lingua franca perspective. By transfer I mean not just in the traditional sense of transfer of certain lexical

or grammatical concepts from L1 to L2, but rather in the widest sense of the concept as an idea that our communication in one language may be influenced in some way by our ability to communicate in another language. To some extent, how transfer is conceptualised depends on how the relationship between language and thought is understood. Is transfer simply a translation from one language to another (typically L1 to L2) as a consequence of or even a strategy for dealing with lack of proficiency in a foreign language, or is it a reflection of fundamental differences between languages and thus an expression of linguistic relativity?

From a crosslinguistic influence (CLI) perspective, transfer is merely another term for crosslinguistic influence, i.e. "*the influence of a person's knowledge of one language on that person's knowledge or use of another language* (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2010, p. 1). This influence is by no means a unidirectional one from L1 to L2, but rather an ongoing progress in which different languages interact in different ways in the mind to the extent that L1 may indeed influence L2, but the opposite is also possible and likely (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2010, pp. 10-22, Odlin, 2005, p. 5). As for the possible connection between transfer and linguistic relativity, cross-linguistic influence might be a result of fundamental differences between languages and as such a case of linguistic transfer, but need not be so.

Odlin (2005, p.5) argues for a separation of the concepts meaning transfer and conceptual transfer to clarify the relationship between linguistic relativity and crosslinguistic influence. Meaning transfer, also referred to as linguistic transfer by Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010, p. 61), is defined as "*cases of influence from the semantics or pragmatics of the native language (or a second in L3 acquisition)*" (Odlin, 2005, p. 5). Meaning transfer may happen at various levels of language including at the phonetic level, lexical or semantic level, syntactic level, and the pragmatic or discursive level (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2010, pp. 61-111). Conceptual transfer is defined as "*those cases of linguistic relativity [i.e. the influence of language of thought] involving, most typically, a second language*" (Odlin, 2005, p.5) or as "*types of transfer [related to] the mental concepts that underlie those [linguistic] forms and structures* (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2010, p. 61). In other words, conceptual transfer deals with the influence between languages at the conceptual level rather than (just) at the semantic level, at the level of the concepts that underlie a certain word (or grammatical category) rather than the meaning associated with it. This means that meaning transfer might sometimes also indicate conceptual transfer, but not necessarily. Often, meaning transfer is simply the case of the influence of some kind of semantic or pragmatic element from

the native language on some kind of semantic or pragmatic element in the second language (Odlin, 2005). Conceptual transfer, on the other hand, will always imply a related meaning transfer and as such: "*conceptual transfer is a subset of meaning transfer*" (Odlin, 2005, 6).

In the following sections I shall briefly go through some of the different aspects of transfer which might be relevant for this project, i.e. semantic transfer, grammatical transfer and pragmatic transfer, and discus how these aspects of transfer relate to the distinction between meaning transfer and conceptual transfer as well as to the overall theoretical framework of communicative supertypes and the communication process.

#### *4.4.1.1.Semantic transfer*

If we consider transfer at the word level, we are dealing with different aspects of lexical transfer, defined as "*the influence of word knowledge in one language on a person's knowledge or use of words in another language*" (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2010, p. 72). Knowledge encompasses both being able to access the word from the mental stores, knowing its pronunciation and spelling, knowing how it acts syntactically, how often it is used, its level of formality and use in combination with other words, which associations it yields, etc. Too this should of course be added the semantical aspects, i.e. knowing the meaning of a word and also the conceptual aspect, i.e. the "*extralinguistic mental representations*" (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2010, p. 73) including mental models, images, schemas, sensory representations on the basis of experiences (Pavlenko, 1999, 2000). Thus semantic transfer is transfer occurring at the meaning level of a word, for instance the use of a word in one language in which the word is correct, but its use reflects a semantic meaning from another language. At the morphophonological or form level the word is correct, but at the semantic level or meaning level it reflects transfer from another language. We might draw a distinction between *formal transfer*, i.e. morphophonological transfer or errors such as false cognates, lexical borrowing or blending of a new word from words of different languages, and semantic transfer, resembling the distinction between form and meaning (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2010, p.75).

Interestingly, Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010, p. 81) argue that semantic transfer is seldom a case of the meaning from a word in one language completely taking over the meaning of a corresponding word in another language. More often it is a case of adding extra meaning from the word in the source language to the word in the target language. Jiang (2004) elaborates somewhat on the

relationship between source and target language in relation to L2 vocabulary acquisition for adult learners. He argues that learning a new L2 word happens in two stages, a comprehension stage and a developmental stage. At the comprehension stage, he suggests that the L2 word is mapped on to the existing L1 meanings and concepts if there is a corresponding word or concept in L1. In other words, the L2 word is to some extent translated into L1, creating a strong link between L1 and L2. This L1-L2 linkage extends into the developmental stage which would otherwise see the restructuring of the translated L1 semantic content or creation of a new L2-based semantic content. This is necessary to ensure a complete use and understanding of the L2 word, but whether this actually happens for adult learners is debated according to Jiang. Some researchers argue that a restructuring is possible given the right amount of "*contextualised L2 input*", others that a complete restructuring will be slow if even possible (2004, pp. 101-105). Regardless, Jiang (2004, p. 105 & pp. 118-121) argues that "*if an L2 word is mapped onto an L1 meaning or concept, the latter will become the mediator of this L2 word in communication*" and continued exposure to L2 will not change this, but only reinforce the connection, since the core meaning of the L2 word and its L1 translation is often too similar for the user to notice a real difference even in contextualised use. As a consequence, restructuring will only occur if the contrast between the translated meaning and its use in a given (communicative) context is strong enough to make the user aware of the dissimilarities.

The discussion by Jiang (2004) does not necessarily contradict the view held by Odlin (2005) and Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010), but as seen above Jiang does not distinguish between meaning transfer and conceptual transfer in relation to semantic transfer, whereas this distinction for Odlin (2005) and Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010) is crucial. Semantic transfer will always include some form of meaning transfer, but is does not necessarily entail conceptual transfer, although at times it might. Transfer at semantic level means an influence at the level of links between words and concepts or words and other words, for instance using for instance an authentic English word, but in the wrong context. Jarvis & Pavlenko 2010, pp. 120-121) give the example of a Finish speaker of English using the English word *language* to mean *tongue* in the sentence *he bit himself in the language*. This is a case of transfer from Finish, which has only one word for language and tongue, i.e. the same label for two different mental concepts. It is a case of semantic transfer, though, and not conceptual transfer, because the influence happens at the level of linking words with meaning and concept, not at the conceptual level, they argue. In other words, the Finish speaker of English understands the concept behind the English word *tongue*, but in his linking of word to concept,

he simply linked the wrong word to the right concept (as the same word in Finish covers both the concept of language and the concept of tongue).

A case of semantic transfer which also implied conceptual transfer would be the example given by Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010, pp. 120-121) of an English speaker of Russian using the Russian word *chashka* (equivalent to cup in English) when asking for a paper cup, because paper cups in English belong to the conceptual category of cups. In Russian, however, paper cups belong to the conceptual category of *stakany* (equivalent to glass in English). In other words, this is a case of semantic transfer as well as conceptual transfer since *chashka* is not only a wrong word but also reflects an underlying difference in the concepts attached to the word. Returning to Jiang's (2004) argument that often an L2 word is mapped onto a L1 concept or meaning and that this is hard to change, Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010, p. 121) argue that this is the case especially for conceptual transfer, where "*errors due to negative conceptual transfer will last longer than errors due to negative semantic transfer*", because restructuring or expanding meaning is easier than restructuring concepts.

Though the theory of communicative supertypes and the communication process make no explicit mention of transfer, notions of transfer are easily identifiable within its theoretical concepts. A good example is the understanding of image-idea pairs as the two-sided content of a word and their process of acquisition (see chapter X for a full discussion). If the abstract pictorial and ideational content of a word is the result of a generalisation process of a multitude of concrete sensory pictures and later concrete thoughts experienced throughout childhood, this means that a word will be strongly anchored within a given culture. It would seem only reasonable to think that such a deeply rooted understanding of a word, especially the bodily and cultural anchoring, would be difficult to set aside completely when learning a seemingly corresponding word in a foreign language. Especially since learning a second language is often more an endeavour of the mind than the body, and is often not contextually situated the same way that the acquisition of a mother tongue was. This could potentially mean that although we might learn the idea-side of [bread], i.e. type of food typically made of a mixture of flour, liquids and salt, we might still couple this onto our sensory formed image-side of its Danish correspondence [brød] (given that our mother tongue is Danish like mine of course). In other words, the sensory images we feel when hearing or reading English [bread] are linked to those of the Danish [brød], simply because we have mainly learned

the ideational side of [bread] and not experienced (in the bodily, sensuous meaning of it) its pictorial counterpart.

If this would then be a case of meaning transfer or conceptual transfer could be discussed. Interestingly for both meaning and conceptual transfer, what seems to influence the amount of crosslinguistic influence is not necessarily proficiency or fluency as such, but rather the amount of socialisation that a user has engaged in within the source language (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2010, pp. 80-81). Another important point to remember is that crosslinguistic influence or transfer as mentioned happens in all directions in the sense that mother tongue might affect comprehension and production in a foreign language, but is also likely to be affected in comprehension and production by a foreign language. As Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010, p. 120) state the lexicons of bi- or multilingual speakers (in contrast to those of monolingual speakers): "*[they] constitute an amalgam of conceptual and semantic representations underlying the use of the respective languages, where some representations may be missing or incomplete, where words of one language may be linked, at times inappropriately, to concepts acquired through the means of another, and where two concepts may be linked, equally inappropriately, to a single word*".

#### *4.4.1.2. Grammatical transfer*

Although initially denied transfer at the grammatical level, morphological or syntactic, has been found both in production and comprehension (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2010, pp. 96-102; Odlin, 2005). At the level of grammatical transfer, especially the work of Slobin (1996) is interesting. Transfer and the relationship between language and thought are given a more dynamical approach in Slobin's (1996) Thinking for Speaking framework. Highlighting the role that grammar plays in processing experiences, Slobin (1996, p. 75) argues that: "*there is a special kind of thinking that is intimately tied to language – namely, the thinking that is carried out, on-line, in the process of speaking*" and that this is a process learned as the child acquires its mother tongue. In other words, when acquiring its native language, a child learns a certain "thinking for speaking", meaning that it learns to structure and present its experiences through the grammatical distinctions made by the language. This makes the child sensitive to those distinctions encompassed by its mother tongue, but correspondingly unaware of other possible distinctions not included in its mother tongue. Languages differing in their grammatical categories will thus also differ in their thinking for speaking, as these grammatical categories are in fact a way of structuring and presenting experiences, a way of thinking for speaking. This leads Slobin (1996, p. 88) to conclude that

events may be experienced differently by speakers of different languages, but "*in the process of making a verbalized story out of them*". In other words, Slobin agrees that thought may indeed be affected by language, but only the part of thought related to speaking, hence the notion of thinking for speaking.

In an intercultural context, the question then arises of what happens to thinking for speaking when speaking another language than your mother tongue. If a language is connected to a certain thinking for speaking, do we then change thinking for speaking when shifting into another language or do we in fact keep the thinking for speaking of our mother tongue and transfer this into a second language? It would seem that the thinking for speaking we acquire through childhood is so profound in the distinctions made by its grammatical categories in relation to how we categorise the events we encounter in the world that having to make distinctions in another way as required by another language will be difficult at best. As Slobin puts it: "*each native language has trained its speakers to pay different kinds of attention to events and experiences when talking about them. This training is carried out in childhood and is exceptionally resistant to restructuring in adult second-language acquisition*" (Slobin, 1996, p. 89).

As for meaning transfer and conceptual transfer at the grammatical level, both are possible. Odlin (2005) gives the example of the transfer of the Polish first person plural ending *–my* with singular referent into English. Often, even for proficient Polish speakers of English, they transfer the construction 'we + X' when they actually mean 'X and I'. Semantically, and perhaps even pragmatically, they are different, but Odlin (2005, p. 7) argues: "*it would be absurd to claim that Poles do not distinguish singular and plural referents*". In other words, this would be a case of meaning transfer and not conceptual transfer. A lot of grammatical transfer would, however, constitute conceptual transfer, because grammatical categories are ways of (conceptually) representing the world surrounding us. Slobin (1996, p. 91) argues that some grammatical categories are more likely to be transferred (and would most likely constitute what Jarvis & Pavlenko and Odlin would characterise as conceptual transfer), these being categories of thinking for speaking such as for instance aspect. Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010, pp. 139-148) add to this transfer of concepts of [TIME], [SPACE] and [MOTION] expressed for instance through grammatical categories such as tense and aspect.

Given the weight assigned to grammar as the common code mediating between speaker and hearer in the theory of communicative supertypes and the communication process, it seems reasonable to argue that this might indeed be subject to transfer. As seen from the discussion of the communication process different grammatical categories have different roles to play depending on where they appear in the communication process. Tense, for instance, plays a very important role in a hearer-oriented language such as English by being a marker of information. This means that aside from assigning temporal meaning to an utterance, tense is also a signal to the hearer of the information value of the utterance, i.e. if it is new or old information. Tense as a grammatical category is also present in for instance Russian, a reality-oriented language, and Spanish, a speaker-oriented language, but in neither of these two does it serve the purpose of marking information, as this is not the main interest of Russian or Spanish, it only adds a temporal perspective. In other words, if the fundamental understanding of grammatical categories is different across languages of different supertypes, what happens then when a speaker of a language of one supertype communicates with a speaker of a language of another supertype in a language of a third supertype? For instance, what happens when a speaker of Russian communicates with a speaker of Spanish using English as a common language? Are they able to fully put aside the fundamental understanding of the grammatical categories implied by their mother tongue and implement the understandings of the foreign language? Will a Russian speaker of English be able to understand the information-based distinctions that tense has in English? And how does she handle the fact that the aspectual distinction made by her Russian mother tongue is not present in the same way in English?

#### *4.4.1.3.Pragmatic transfer and pragmatic dissonance*

The final level of language that I shall deal with in this section which might be susceptible to crosslinguistic influence of transfer is the pragmatic level. Pragmatic transfer has been documented from many different areas and perspectives, both in terms of which and how different speech acts are realised but also regarding the use of politeness strategies and the perception of the interpersonal relationship in the context concerning the speech act (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2010, pp. 107-111; Kasper, 1992). From an interlanguage perspective, pragmatic transfer is the combination of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic factors from L1 which influence in some way the use and understanding of pragmatic performance in L2. Based on a premise that a universal pragmatic base exists to which language users have access but may need to be reminded of the possibility to tap into these resources, Kasper (1992, p. 207) arrives at a definition of

pragmatic transfer which reads: "*the influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of languages and cultures other than L2 on their comprehension, production and learning of L2 pragmatic information*". As two different, but interconnected, aspects of pragmatic transfer, Kasper proposes the notions of *pragmalinguistic transfer* and *sociopragmatic transfer*. Pragmalinguistic transfer refers to those aspects of pragmatic transfer which relate to (transfer of) illocutionary acts, illocutionary force, politeness and the many different linguistic means of realising politeness, i.e. "*the process whereby the illocutionary force or politeness value assigned to particular linguistic material in L1 influences learners' perception and production of form-function mapping in L2*" (Kasper, 1992, p.209). Sociopragmatic transfer, on the other hand, refers to the social interactional aspects of pragmatic transfer such as for example the relationship between participants in terms of social distance, power distribution and the rights and obligations connected hereto. Sociopragmatic transfer, then, is: "*when the social perceptions underlying language users' interpretation and performance of linguistic action in L2 are influenced by their assessment of subjectively equivalent L1 contexts*" (Kasper, 1992, p. 209).

In other words, language users have a universal base of pragmatic knowledge available both in terms of access to the same strategies for expressing speech act with varying force and politeness (the pragmalinguistic aspect), but also in terms of being able to assess the interpersonal and contextual factors in connection with this (the sociopragmatic aspect). When pragmatic transfer still occurs, this is due to the influence from L1 in L2 in terms of how a given context is perceived and interpreted and in terms of using specific L1 strategies in realising speech acts in L2 (Kasper, 1992). As a consequence, the role of teaching is to help L2 users or learners to gain access to the universal base of pragmatic knowledge to limit the amount of pragmatic transfer in their communication (Kasper, 1992).

As for the connection between proficiency and transfer at the pragmatic level, Li (2002) raises an interesting discussion of what the terms *pragmatic dissonance*, i.e. those cases in which an otherwise fully proficient (near-native speaking) foreign language user finds herself in a situation of having to realise a speech act where the pragmatic norms of the foreign language conflict with those of her mother tongue. Based on his own experiences as a native speaker of Cantonese Chinese and a near-native speaker of English (including many years living and working abroad), Li describes how he often finds himself in situations where the norms of his native Chinese conflict with those of his English, for examples in the use of terms of address, responding to

compliments, or having to express disagreement. Unlike the kind of transfer which goes on unnoticed by the speaker, he is fully aware that there are different pragmatic norms connected with the same situation, but he remains uncertain of how to handle them since following one set of norms would violate the other (Li, 2002). Though this might seem anecdotal, Li's pragmatic dissonance would no doubt resonate with many (very proficient) language users who personally or professionally engage in communication across languages and pragmatic norms. Furthermore, it adds an interesting perspective to the discussion of transfer and proficiency. Even if (negative) crosslinguistic influence may to some extent be mitigated through an increased proficiency in L2, raised awareness of differences in pragmatic norms or a deeper L2 cultural immersion, will this help the individual language user in handling conflicting pragmatic norms between L1 and L2? Do the pragmatic norms of the L2 take preference over those from L1? The question becomes even more relevant in the case of intercultural communication in a common language such as ELF. If a native speaker of Russian engages in communication with a native speaker of Chinese using English as their common language, which pragmatic norms should then be adhered to? Those connected with Chinese, those with Russian or those norms linked to English as a native language?

## 4.5. Summing up on comprehension

The purpose of this chapter was to show how comprehension is understood in this project as an integrated part of the communication process. The communication process showed how speaker and hearer are able to meet in communication, first through the common voice of grammar, which serves as the end point of the speaker's role in communication and marks the starting point for the hearer's part in communication. And second, through the process of anchoring, where the hearer backtracks the journey made by the speaker to recreate in her own mind what lied before. In that sense, rather than being a linear process as the depictions in the previous sections showed, the communication process is in fact much more a circular process, explaining how and why communication works. It could be illustrated as follows, using Durst-Andersen's (2011a) terminology and inspired by the Communicative Wheel presented in Durst-Andersen & Cobley (to appear), to appear, but both greatly simplified as well as elaborated. Simplified in its components and subcomponents and elaborated to show the full process of anchoring which leads to the intake, i.e. comprehension:

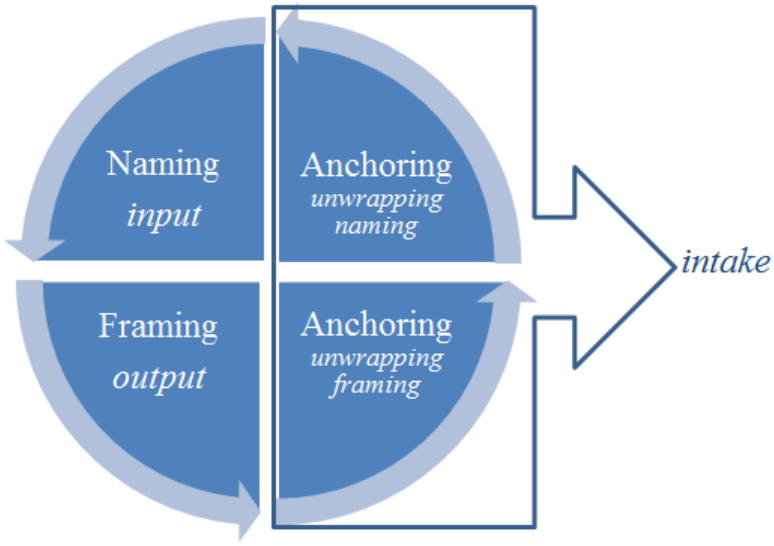


*Figure 4 The communication process illustrated with special attention on the process of anchoring and intake, partly based on Durst-Andersen & Cobley's much more elaborated Communicative Wheel (Durst-Andersen & Cobley, to appear)*

The figure shows the process of naming, framing and anchoring highlighting how the process of anchoring is really a two-step process of the hearer reconstructing the steps the speaker went through in the process of naming and framing, but in the reversed order. Naturally, the journey made by the hearer will never be precisely the same as the one made by the speaker, as they take place in separate minds. However, the fact that the hearer is able to put herself in the mind of the speaker, so to speak, is what in the end makes the two meet and communication successful.

This circular view of communication as well as the emphasis on grammar as a common code and meeting point for speaker and hearer makes this approach different from for instance Sperber & Wilson's Relevance Theory in which communication is not (only) a matter of linguistic and grammatical encoding and decoding, but rather about intentions, i.e. the speaker's expression of intentions and the hearer's interpretation of the speaker's intentions (Sperber & Wilson, 2002, 2005). Accordingly, comprehension is an inferential process "*involving the construction and evaluation of a hypothesis about the communicator's meaning on the basis of the evidence she has provided for this purpose*" (Sperber & Wilson, 2002, p. 7). Communication as the expression and interpretation of intentions is based on the universal Principle of Relevance, i.e. a cost-effect balance between what they call a positive function of the cognitive benefits gained by processing it (the effect) and a negative function of the efforts required to process it (the costs) (Sperber & Wilson, 2002, 2005).

Although Sperber & Wilson would most likely agree that certain aspects of human verbal communication are in fact linguistically and grammatically coded, their argument is that a great part of human communication is inferential, and as a consequence comprehension is not simply a matter of the hearer backtracking the journey made by the speaker, but rather the hearer making her own journey based on the evidence presented and the Principle or Relevance. In other words, the hearer will stop at the first interpretation which meets her expectations of relevance because the hearer will assume that the speaker has formulated the message in a way that the first interpretation will be the right one. There is of course always a risk that this may be the wrong interpretation, because ultimately "*comprehension is a non-demonstrative inference process*", but following this process of comprehension is the best the hearer can do (Sperber & Wilson, 2002, p. 19).

Along the same lines Dipper, Black & Bryan (2005) apply Slobin's Thinking for Speaking to the process of comprehension, arguing that comprehension is an "*enrichment of skeletal linguistic meaning with other aspects of meaning to form a coherent conceptualisation*" and should therefore not be viewed as simply a reversed process of production. In other words, they argue that although the starting point of comprehension is the meaning derived from the basic linguistic form, this meaning alone cannot account for comprehension, rather it must be supplemented with what they refer to as "*other components of meaning derived from linguistic form*", such as the qualia structure of all words in the sentence and the pragmatic meaning of the sentence frame, and components of pragmatic or conceptual meaning, which include situation, interpersonal and contextual factors. Their point here is that this process of enrichment is guided by pragmatic principles, such as for instance Sperber & Wilson's Principle of Relevance, so that what ends up forming the full comprehension are other components of semantic, pragmatic and conceptual meaning all guided by the Principle of Relevance (Dipper, Black & Bryan, 2005). Based on research within aphasia and the relationship between production and comprehension which shows that comprehension was not affected as much as production by language impairment, Dipper, Black & Bryan (2005) conclude, amongst other things, that comprehension cannot simply be a reversed process of production as the linguistic meaning of an utterance is just one amongst many sources of meaning to guide comprehension and that for some utterances the main source of meaning or guide to meaning will be pragmatic rather than linguistic.

Although some part of comprehension will no doubt be inferential and thereby greatly influenced by various contextual factors, this should not necessarily exclude looking at the role of the linguistic element in comprehension. As Dipper, Black & Bryan (2005) also state, the linguistic meaning is still a valuable source of input to meaning comprehension, and the evidence that Sperber & Wilson argue provide the basis for making an inferential comprehension may also be at least to some extent linguistic or grounded in the linguistic form, as a meeting point for speaker and hearer. An important point of the view of comprehension laid out in this chapter is exactly that it highlights how speaker and hearer meet through language not once but twice. The first time when the speaker delivers the utterance after the process of naming and framing, i.e. when the speaker's output is left for the hearer to convert into intake. We might call this meeting point for the *physical meeting point*. Comprehension at this point is being able to read (or hear in a spoken context) the words, but also to understand their basic semantic content as well as the (syntactical) relationship between the words. In other words, the levels of understanding that Deterding (2013), through Smith's (1992) terminology, calls *intelligibility* and *comprehensibility*, i.e. the recognition of words and the understanding of the meaning of words, respectively.

The second time speaker and hearer meet is once the hearer has created her intake of the utterance by mentally recreating the journey made by the speaker, but in reversed order, i.e. unwrapped first the stage of framing and then the stage of naming. We might call this the *mental meeting point*. Comprehension at this point is much more detailed or nuanced than at the first point and involves understanding the different indexes that the utterance carries, i.e. understanding which situation in reality the utterance relates to, how the utterance is a symptom of the speaker's experience of this and what information the utterance signals. We could compare this to the level of understanding which Deterding (2013), again in Smith's (1992) terminology calls the level of *interpretability*, or the understanding of the meaning behind words. This second meeting is possible because the process of comprehension to some extent is a reversal of the process of production, at least in our mother tongue. What happens to comprehension and the communication process in a foreign language is a question left unanswered. In other words, comprehension is layered and the full understanding of an utterance involves comprehending both layers, i.e. reaching both meeting points.

If we consider the connection between mind and body encompassed by the understanding of words as image-idea pairs deeply anchored in our body through the process of acquiring our

mother tongue, then it seems only reasonable to argue that even the meaning encompassed by linguistic form is so much more than simply the prototypical semantic content. And if we combine this with the understanding of comprehension as the hearer's mental recreation of the speaker's journey, we might understand at least to some extent why language may be such a powerful tool for communication, at least in our mother tongue. The question still remains what happens to comprehension in a foreign but common language. My aim with this project is to be able to shed some light on this.

# 5. The Theoretical Foundation for the GEBCom Reception Test

## 5.1. Introduction

The comprehension test which was developed by me for the overall GEBCom Project as a means to investigate the comprehension of English texts by non-native speakers builds on various elements consisting of 10 different areas derived from Durst-Andersen's theory of communicative supertypes (2011a, 2011b):

- Naming, i.e. the comprehension of the text on a verb phrase or noun phrase level, which is interesting because different languages of different supertypes seem to have different naming strategies (Durst-Andersen, 2011a)
- Reference unit, i.e. how the participant anchors a simple utterance without any real context, in other words what they believe the utterance refers to. This is interesting because it relates to the basic voice of a language, i.e. whether a language in its output structure uses the voice of reality focusing on the situation (reality-oriented languages), the voice of the speaker (speaker-oriented languages) focusing on the speaker's experience of the situation or the voice of the hearer (hearer-oriented languages) presenting information to the hearer (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, 181 ff.).
- Time anchoring and preferred situation, i.e. the comprehension of time, both in the grammatical sense of tense and in a more figurative manner, which is interesting because according to Durst-Andersen (2011a, 2011b) both tense and time play very different roles according to the supertype of a language.
- Form of approaching the hearer, which focuses on the comprehension of directives, both in relation to how they are perceived in terms of politeness, what the participants think is the intention behind it and what possible action the hearer would take based on it.
- Communicative direction, which deals with the semiotic direction of the utterance, or to be precise: the participant's comprehension of the semiotic direction of the utterance. By this I mean if the participant interprets the utterance as being directed towards the speaker, the hearer or the situation. This is interesting because it investigates the relationship between grammar and the participants of the communication situation.
- Discourse world split, i.e. the comprehension of texts in relation to the four different discourse worlds, i.e. the world of opinions, the world of beliefs, the world of knowledge and the world of experiences. For the GEBCom reception test it is interesting to assess whether there might be differences in comprehension according to discourse worlds, i.e.

if the same text in English is comprehended differently by relating it to different discourse worlds.

- Progressive vs. non-progressive, i.e. how the English progressive is comprehended by non-native speakers of English.
- Event relationship, which examines the cause/effect relationship in texts by assessing if the participants show any preference for the structuring of texts in relation to its comprehension as either cause or effect, i.e. if a certain sentence structuring is preferred for cause or effect.
- Or, i.e. the comprehension of the disjunctive particle by non-native speakers of English. This was inspired by Lorentzen's ongoing research showing clear differences in how Danish native speakers used 'og/eller' (and/or) and the Russian native speakers used 'i/ili' when translating between Russian and Danish (see Lorentzen, 2016).
- Rhetorical questions, i.e. the comprehension of a question in English by non-native speakers as either literal or rhetorical, both in terms of how they would be comprehended but also whether the structuring of the question plays a role in the comprehension. This category was mainly inspired by Lauritzen's (2016) research and philosophical work on the nature of questions.

For each of the ten areas one or several texts were designed to help test the desired elements[8]. However, although the original ambition was to fully analyse each and every text for each and every country, the initial rounds of data analysis made it quite clear that this would simply not be possible within a realistic time frame. I had to be restrictive, meaning I could either focus on one group in comparison with native speakers and then go through all the texts, or I could choose all three groups in comparison with native speakers (and each other), but then only for a few texts. I chose the last option, i.e. to keep all groups but focus on a few texts. This made most sense in relation to my aim with this project, i.e. to investigate the comprehension of English texts by non-native speakers and to see if it in any way is influenced by the mother tongue. By including all groups I hoped to get a better feeling of differences and similarities.

I chose to further analyse the texts from the following areas:

[8] The various methodological concerns regarding the design of the test will be discussed in details in the following chapter, Chapter 6

- *Or*. This element was interesting because it entails logics, which in many cases is thought to be universal, and because disjunction is very important in language. I knew from the previous research by Lorentzen (2016) that there were differences in its use and understanding between Danish and Russian. It was therefore very interesting to see whether these differences would also be there in English and what would be the case for the Japanese participants and the Chinese participants. This area includes one text with two questions.
- *Form of Approaching the Hearer*. This was selected because it relates to the work carried out by my GEBCom colleagues on production of speech acts. Furthermore, it touches upon the greatly debated notion of politeness and gives an indication of the relationship between how the participants understand the intention of the request and how they would act upon this. For this area six texts with three questions each were designed.

For ease of reading, the following discussion of the theoretical foundations for developing the comprehension test will relate then only to the two elements above, i.e. the element of Or and the element of Form of Approaching the Hearer. Nonetheless, I want to emphasise that these two areas with their seven texts were only a small part of a larger whole. This of course meant making certain compromises when designing the test. Had I designed the GEBCom Reception test for these two areas alone, I would most likely have elaborated certain aspects to give a broader understanding of how disjunction and requests in English were comprehended by native and non-native speakers.

## 5.2. The theoretical foundation for 'or'

This category was included inspired by Lorentzen's ongoing research showing clear differences in how Danish native speakers used 'og/eller' (and/or) and the Russian native speakers used 'i/ili' when translating between Russian and Danish (see, e.g. Lorentzen, 2016). Through various examples of translations between Russian and Danish, Lorentzen (2016) shows that the Danish disjunctive particle 'eller' does not function in the same way as its Russian equivalent 'ili' even though in formal linguistics all disjunctive and conjunctive elements are considered to be governed by the same logic (de Morgan's laws). In Danish the use of 'eller' is possible in situations where a Russian speaker would clearly expect 'i'. One of her examples is a metro sign stating that: "*det er strengt forbudt at kravle **eller** side på rulletrappe og rækværk - it is strictly forbidden to crawl **or** sit on the escalators and railings*" (Lorentzen, 2016, p. 75, my emphasis,

my translation from Danish). The use of the disjunctive particle in this case would not be possible in Russian, as the Russian particle 'ili' implies an either…or reading.

Lorentzen (2016) explains the differences in use (and thus understanding) via Durst-Andersen's communicative supertypes. Russian is a reality-oriented language and the common code (i.e. grammar) focuses on situations as a way of presenting a model of reality. Danish, on the other hand, is hearer-oriented, and the role of the common code (i.e. grammar) is to present information to the hearer (about the speaker's experience of reality) (Lorentzen, 2016). Whereas the use of the Russian 'ili' means that the coordinating sentence elements are considered to be actual alternatives (and can be interchanged), the Danish 'eller' functions in two ways: a) as a 'true' disjunction in the same way as its Russian equivalent 'ili', and b) as information in the form of "*a series of EPISTEMIC POSSIBILITIES, which is often also marked through the use of other modal grammatical expressions – modal verbs, modal particles, mental predicates, the tempus and diathesis forms of the verbs etc.*" (Lorentzen, 2016, p.79 – my translation from Danish). In other words, 'eller' in this form functions as the speaker's information to the hearer, a signal that she is dealing with two separate experiences of different situations, stored in different places in her mental storage, and it is the role of the hearer to recreate the appropriate models of the situations (Lorentzen 2016).

Additional work on cross-linguistic variation in conjunction by for instance Szabolcsi & Haddican (2004), and by scholars from EFL/SLA for instance Chiu's (2004) work on L2 acquisition of the conjunction particle in English by Taiwanese learners of English also suggests possible differences in the use and comprehension of the conjunction across languages and the possible transfer of this into L2. This makes it interesting to investigate how the English disjunctive particle 'or' is comprehended both by native speakers and by non-native speakers. The category includes only one text (taking from an episode of Barnaby), namely:

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Imagine that you are reading an article in the newspaper. The local reporter is doing an interview with a police detective about a crime investigation. You read:

Reporter: Do you have any idea who might have killed Mrs Hewitt or Dr Gott?
Detective: No, unfortunately we have no leads.

- How many people do you think were killed?
  - ☐ 1
  - ☐ 2

- How many killers do you think there were?
  - ☐ 1
  - ☐ 2

*Table 5 The text from the GEBCom Reception Test investigating the comprehension of 'or'*

If we had known that the results would be so interesting, we would no doubt have added more texts of this kind varied in their content to shed more light on the comprehension of disjunction. However, as mentioned previously, this was only one of 36 texts and therefore only part of the entire GEBCom Reception Test.

## 5.3. Form of Approaching the Hearer

As part of the GEBCom Reception Test we wanted to include a section on the comprehension of directives in English. The texts of this category focus on the comprehension of requests, both in relation to how they are perceived in terms of politeness, what the participants think is the intention behind it and what possible action they would carry out based on it. In this sense, the elements investigated for this area include elements of pragmatics as well and we may refer to this as a form of pragmatic comprehension. This links the texts of this category with the GEBCom speech act production test used by my GEBCom colleagues Olga Rykov Ibsen and Xia Zhang (see Ibsen, 2016 and Zhang, to appear), who investigate how different kinds of requests are made by non-native speakers of English from Russia and Denmark, and China and Denmark, respectively, comparing these to the requests produced in their native languages.

In line with the overall framework of communicative supertypes and language as a system of signs, the specific theoretical foundation for this area is Durst-Andersen's work on the interplay between communicative supertypes and speech acts as realised in his theories on imperative frames (Durst-Andersen, 2009, Arnsberg & Bentsen, 2010, Durst-Andersen, 2011a and 2011b) and more recently his theory on the Pragmatic Wheel (Durst-Andersen, 2016a). In the following section, I shall briefly lay out the central notions from these theories and discuss how they were incorporated into the GEBCom Reception test.

### 5.3.1. Durst-Andersen's approach to directives

Durst-Andersen's earlier work on directives (Durst-Andersen, 1995 & 2009a & 2009b) employs the term *Request* as a metaconcept for directives. Request is an elaboration of Lyon's *mands* (speech acts that instruct or suggest the hearer to carry out an action) grounded in von Wrights modal logic, more specifically the distinction between alethic modality and deontic modality (Durst-Andersen, 2009). Alethic modality expresses possibility and necessity (as well as the negated variants hereof) according to the laws of nature, whereas deontic modality does so according to the rules and norms of society[9]. Based on this distinction, Durst-Andersen divides Requests into eight overall *Imperative Frames*, four based on alethic modality (possibility, impossibility, necessity, non-necessity) and four based on deontic modality (permission i.e. possibility, prohibition i.e. impossibility, obligation i.e. necessity, and cancellation of an obligation i.e. non-necessity). The alethic frames are descriptive, i.e. they describe what is possible, impossible, necessary and unnecessary. The deontic frames are prescriptive in the sense that they make something possible (give a permission), impossible (make a prohibition), necessary (issue an obligation) and unnecessary (cancel an obligation)[10]. These eight Imperative Frames are meant to be universal for all languages (but the linguistic realisation of them need not be, in fact it rarely is), and include all traditional speech acts such as invitations, suggestions, permissions, advice, etc. In his more recent work on directives[11] Durst-Andersen (2016a) transforms his Imperative Frames thinking into a more dynamic Pragmatic Wheel for directives, including

[9] For a more thorough discussion of alethic and deontic modality, also as opposed to epistemic modality, see Durst-Andersen (1995) as well as the work by my colleague Olga Rykov Ibsen in her PhD dissertation (Ibsen, 2016).
[10] For a complete review of the eight imperative frames and their connection to speech acts, see Durst-Andersen (1995, 2009a & 2009b), Ibsen (2016) and my own previous work in my master thesis (Arnsberg & Bentsen, 2010).
[11] Durst-Andersen's more recent work on directives, i.e. the theory of the Pragmatic Wheel (Durst-Andersen (2016), was developed after the design of the GEBCom reception test on the basis of the data yielded from the Speech Act Production tests, and did therefore not form part of the theoretical background for the GEBCom Reception test, but did serve as inspiration for analysing the answers from the test as can be seen in Chapter 9.

Request (directives in favour of the speaker) and Offers (directives in favour of the hearer), which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9 in connection with the analysis of data.

What is common to both the Imperative Frames and the Pragmatic Wheel is the emphasis on the layered structure of a directive. In that sense, Durst-Andersen is inspired by Searle's classic approach and his distinction between: "*the primary illocution (=the speaker's intention) and the secondary illocution (=the utterance meaning) – the latter he considers a verbalisation of a series of conditions*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p.119), but elaborates it according to the obligatory participants in a communication, in the sense that any directive includes not one, but three different speech acts: "*The function of the first speech act is to issue a prescription or a description which according to the speaker will satisfy the conditions for the hearer to comply with the speaker's request. The persuasive element is found in the second speech act where the speaker requests the hearer to realize the prescribed or described state by producing the required activity. The function of the third speech act is, to put it informally, to inform the hearer about the benefits he may gain or the costs he may endure, if he does or does not obey the speaker's request to do something or not to do something*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p. 125, my emphasis).

In other words, the first speech act relates to the hearer through the satisfaction of her conditions for complying with the action requested, the second speech act relates to reality in the sense that: "*it always relates to a certain situation in reality, which the speaker either wants to change using the hearer as an instrument or which he wants to remain as it is by asking the hearer to refrain from doing something*" (Durst-Andersen, 2009a, p. 319), and the third speech act relates to the speaker's own conditions by referring to the consequences, bad or good, she promises to lay out for the hearer. The conditions pertaining to reality are perhaps rather self-explanatory. They are the Request itself so to speak, in the sense that by issuing the Request, the speaker presents the hearer with a copy of what she desires and at the same time requests the hearer to create an original of this copy, which will allow for the situation in reality to be changed or remain unchanged (Durst-Andersen, 2009a, p. 318; 2011, p.115). The conditions of the hearer and of the speaker deserve a brief elaboration.

#### *5.3.1.1.The Satisfaction Conditions*

The conditions relating to the hearer, the so-called *Satisfaction Conditions* are those which when satisfied allow the hearer to fulfil the Request. When issuing a directive, the speaker knows that

there is something keeping the hearer from doing what the speaker or the hearer herself wants the hearer to do, maybe she is afraid to do it, does not want to do it, etc. (see also Durst-Andersen, 2009). There is an obstacle as Durst-Andersen calls this: "*the hearer's fear or dislike about doing something is an obstacle for the speaker in making the hearer do what he wants him to do. Therefore the speaker will always seek to satisfy the hearer's precondition for following his request by removing the obstacle or, in other cases, telling him that there is no obstacle at all*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p. 122). In other words, Satisfactions Conditions are the hearer's conditions for following the speaker's Request, whether this is doing something or refraining from doing something, and it that sense they function as a signal to the hearer (Durst-Andersen, 2009a, p. 318).

Take for instance the following scenario of the imperative frame Possibility: John is making bread in his kitchen whilst his good friend Jane is preparing the soup to accompany the bread for dinner. Having prepared the dough, John is ready to set it aside to rest, but being somewhat of a novice within bread-making, he calls over Jane to have a look at it. Upon seeing the dough, she says: *it looks good, but why don't you add a bit more flour?* Jane's motivation for issuing the directive (here in the shape of an interrogative) is the situation she experiences: the dough needs more flour to be good. She assumes that Jack wants the bread to be good, but some obstacle is keeping him from this: he simply does not know and therefore he has no intention of adding more flour. By issuing the Request, Jane removes the obstacle, thus satisfying John's conditions for complying with the Request: he would do anything to make a good bread. She might also have said: *it looks good, but you should add more flour* or even *it looks good, but add more flour*. The important point here is that whether the speaker chooses an imperative, a declarative or an interrogative sentence form to remove the obstacle, she still satisfies the hearer's conditions by removing the obstacle.

#### *5.3.1.2.The Obedience Conditions*

The conditions relating to the speaker, the so-called *Obedience Conditions* refer to the speaker's conditions for fulfilling (or refusing to fulfil) the Request. In a way, they are the speaker's promise to the hearer of the consequences it will have if the hearer follows or refuses to follow the speaker's request (Durst-Andersen, 2009, 2011, p. 123). Since the hearer may choose to follow or refuse to follow the speaker's request, Obedience Conditions come in two shapes. They can be positive, a form of reward that the speaker promises to the hearer. These are called

*Compensations*. They may also be negative, i.e. a form of punishment or negative consequence that the speaker promises to the hearer. These are called *Sanctions*.

Common for both Compensations and Sanctions are their inherent structure or function: "*they all comprise a conditional statement with a description of the consequences for having fulfilled or for not having fulfilled the condition*" (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p. 123). Again this is not to mean that they will always have the same linguistic form or realisations. Just as with Satisfaction Conditions, the linguistic realisation of Obedience Conditions may take many different forms. By conditional statement is meant an implicit *if…then* structure, not necessarily directly expressed linguistically, but always implied. For instance, in the previous example Jane might have said: *it looks good, by why don't you add a bit more flour? It will be more tasteful*, in which case *it will be more tasteful* works as a Compensation with the implicit conditional structure: *if you add more flour, the bread will be better*. Or she might have said: *it looks good, but add more flour or it won't bake properly*, in which case *or it won't bake properly* functions as a warning, a type of Sanction with the implicit conditional statement *if you do not add more flour, the bread will not bake properly.*

#### *5.3.1.3. On the different sentence forms*

In Durst-Andersen (2011, pp.116-120) the differences between sentence forms are based on the notion of negotiating a contract. The imperative (in its naked form) is less of a negotiation and more of a contract, already agreed to by the speaker and simply awaiting the hearer's confirmation (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p. 117). When Jane says *it looks good, but add more flour*, she presents John with a contract which reads: *I hereby ask you to add more flour*, a contract already accepted by her and which leaves no room for negotiation. The declarative and the interrogative, on the other hand, are both strategies for negotiating the contract between speaker and hearer. Whereas the declarative is a closed negotiation, i.e. the speaker leaves less room for the hearer to make her impact on the outcome of the contract, the interrogative is an open negotiation (Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p. 121). For example, when Jane says *it looks good but you should add more flour*, she is negotiating a contract which reads *I hereby say to you, if it is possible for you, you add more flour*. The negotiation is closed in the sense that by stating the possible action (you add flour), she leaves little room for John to make his impact on the contract. However, when Jane uses the interrogative and asks *it looks good, but why don't you add more flour*, she enters into an open negotiation about a contract which reads *As you do not add more flour, but I assume that you are able and*

*willing to, I hereby ask you: why do you not add more flour?* By phrasing it as a question, Jane verbalises her thought or wondering about John's attitude, which leaves the negotiation more open for John to make his influence on the final contract.

The role of the different sentence forms as different strategies for entering into a contract between speaker and hearer, or as different strategies for solving a problem, are interesting, especially in an intercultural setting. According to Durst-Andersen (2016a), this is a universal, but nevertheless an individual approach. It is universal in the sense that given that all three sentence forms are possible in a language, the choice between them is a choice between three different approaches to solving a problem, and the three different sentence forms express that given approach regardless of language. And it is individual in the sense that this choice between sentence forms is a choice made solely by the individual speaker according to which way of solving the problem she finds most suitable in the given situation and context.

However, Durst-Andersen's theory of directives is strongly (and intendedly) focused on the speaker (2011, p. 116) with the exact role of the hearer left undefined in detail. From the theory of the communication process we know that Durst-Andersen does indeed ascribe to the hearer an active part in communication through intake, in which the hearer recreates in her own mind the journey made by the speaker only in the opposite direction. In other words comprehension (or reception in Durst-Andersen's terminology) might be seen as a mirror image of production. Whether the same can be said for speech acts, i.e. if the comprehension of speech acts is a mirror image of the production thereof, is not clear from the theory, which makes it even more interesting to investigate.

### 5.3.2. Implications of the Durst-Andersen framework for the GEBCom Reception Test

Besides serving as a theoretical framework for the overall understanding of speech acts and the role of the speaker and the hearer, the Imperative also served as practical inspiration when designing the category Form of Approaching the Hearer. We assumed that different sentence form, imperatives, declaratives and interrogatives, would play different roles in relation to speech acts and we wanted to include this element in the test. This meant that the texts for this category were designed so that they altered between imperatives, declaratives and interrogatives.

In addition, the overall Peircean inspiration in Durst-Andersen's theories and the notion of firstness, secondness and thirdnees were included in a quite practical application. The theory of Communicative Supertypes emphasises that different languages, due to their supertype, express a natural preference for either reality, speaker or hearer. Linguistically the three transform into third person (reality), first person (speaker) and second person (hearer). Without having any specific assumptions or expectations we wanted to see if the linguistic notions of first person, second person and third person had any impact on the way the participants comprehended the texts.

### 5.3.3. On the role of Politeness

As part of the investigation into the comprehension of directives, we knew we had to include elements of politeness. After all, "*politeness could be considered the heart of successful inter-cultural communication*" (Holmes, 2012). Politeness, however, is also a tricky notion; perhaps especially in a project that celebrates linguistic diversity. How do you embrace a somewhat universal term with the intention to let it cover every aspect of what the participants may consider to be polite without it being then completely empty and with no real meaning in itself? Perhaps part of what makes politeness such a complicated or muddy concept is its inherent duality: it is both a theoretical concept (and for some researcher also an analytical tool) and a common notion. As Gagné (2010, p. 126) also points out, politeness faces another, often conflicting, duality, namely that it is both a universal theoretical concept and a multitude of variations through local interpretations.

Since Brown & Levinson's (1987) famous politeness theory, which links the notion of politeness with the notions of face and face work, the debate about politeness and face as universalistic vs relativistic concepts has not lost its interest. A universalistic approach, as that in line with Brown & Levinson, would argue that politeness (and face work) may take on different linguistic forms and involve different strategies across cultures, but it is still possible to speak of a universal conceptualisation of what constitutes politeness. Differences in linguistic forms are then merely different interpretations and realisations of the same underlying universal concept. Researchers who favour a more relativistic approach to politeness would instead view differences in linguistic forms and strategies as a result of fundamentally different conceptualisations of what constitutes politeness.

The concept of politeness is interesting to include when investigating comprehension because in a way it forms part of the pragmatic layer of comprehension. Particularly interesting for this project is the relationship between politeness and its linguistic realisations. Is it possible to speak of politeness in relation to a certain linguistic form, or is it more so that: "*no linguistic structures can be taken to be inherently polite [and] at least in English, linguistic structures do not in themselves denote politeness, but rather they lend themselves to individual interpretation as 'polite' in instances of ongoing verbal interaction*" (Watts, 2003, p. 168). Even before beginning the discussion, we notice the many dilemmas that surface when dealing with (linguistic) politeness: is politeness a universal concept or relative to culture, should politeness be viewed as linguistic strategies or social practice, is it possible to speak of politeness on a (lingua)cultural level or only at an individual level? To these, Eelen (2001) adds the questions of how to distinguish between politeness as a common concept in everyday use and politeness as a scientific concept (the politeness1 vs. politeness2 distinction), if politeness should focus only on politeness or include impoliteness, whether politeness should be viewed from the point of view of the speaker or the hearer, i.e. as production or comprehension, and many more.

The field of (and literature on) politeness is immense[12]. The point of this section is not to give a complete review of the current status of the debate on face and politeness as this lies well outside the scope of my project, but rather to give a brief introduction and to discuss how the notion politeness is understood and used in the GEBCom Reception test in relation to the area Form of Approaching the Hearer. As the purpose of this project is to investigate the comprehension of English texts by non-native speakers with a focus on the possible influence of the mother tongue, I will focus on politeness and its possible relationship with linguistic structures, taking my starting point in Brown & Levinson's (1987) theory on politeness and then discussing it in relation to a universal vs relativistic perspective as well as the (perhaps) special role of politeness in an intercultural or ELF setting.

#### *5.3.3.1. Brown & Levinson's theory of politeness*

Brown & Levinson's (both the original 1978 as well as the 1987 edition) theory of politeness was a strong proposal for a universal approach to politeness claiming that politeness was a strategy to manage face and face work. The central idea of Brown & Levinson's theory of politeness is the

[12] For an illustrative example of just how massive the interest in politeness is, see Terkorafi (2015).

notion of face, which they borrow from Goffman, but develop into a: "*a highly abstract notion of 'face' which consists of two specific kinds of desires ('face wants') attributed by interactants to one another: the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions (negative face), and the desire (in some respect) to be approved of (positive face). This is the bare bones of a notion of face that (we argue) is universal, but which in any particular society we would expect to be the subject of much cultural elaboration*" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, pr. 13). In other words, although Brown & Levinson do indeed argue that face is a universal concept, they still allow for cultural variation in the everyday use and understanding of this concept. Yet it should be stressed that cultural variations in the use of face is not, according to Brown & Levinson, an expression of fundamental underlying differences in what constitutes face. There is still a universal core, and this core revolves around the two basic desires expressed in the notions of negative and positive face.

Just as Brown & Levinson distinguish between two different kinds of face, they also distinguish between two different kinds of acts, i.e. those that pose a threat to the negative face and those that pose a threat to the positive face. Negative face is described as: "*the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others*" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 62). Acts (and by acts Brown & Levinson refer to both verbal and non-verbal acts of communication) that threaten the negative face are therefore acts which indicate that: "*the speaker (S) does not intend to avoid impeding H's freedom of action*" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 65), including amongst others orders, requests, suggestions, advices, threats, offers etc. The positive face is described as: "*the want of every member that his wants be desirable at least to some others*" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 62). As a consequence acts which are threatening to the positive face are acts that indicate that: "*the speaker does not care about the addressee's feelings, wants etc.*" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p.66), including expressions of disapproval, mention of taboo topics, interruptions, boasting, etc.

Politeness, then, is a means for the speaker to handle these so-called Face Threatening Acts (usually abbreviated FTAs). Brown & Levinson (1987, p. 69) develop a hierarchy of strategies for doing FTAs as illustrated in the figure below.

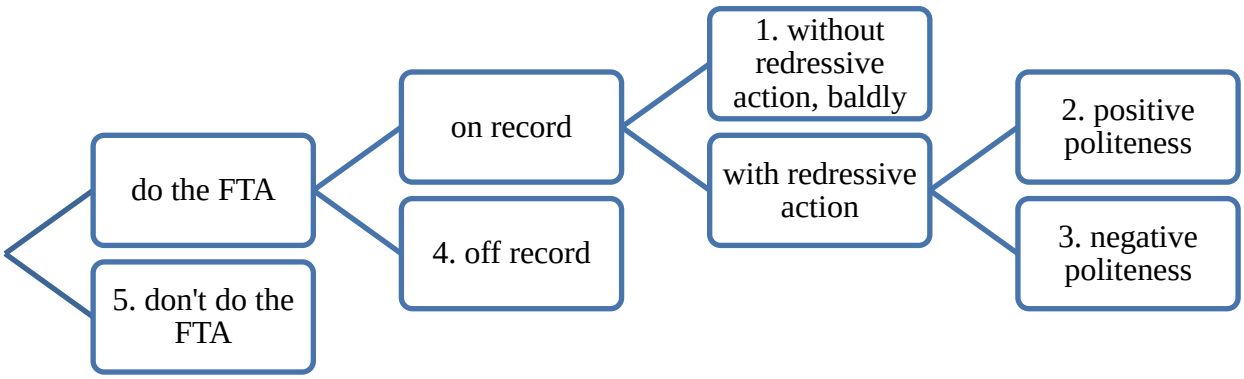


*Figure 5 Possible strategies for doing face threatening acts as adapted from Brown & Levinson (1987, p. 69)*

The figure illustrates the five different strategies available to a speaker when doing a FTA. Which strategy a speaker will choose depends on the interplay between the speaker's a priori considerations (also referred to as the payoffs) and the circumstance around the situation (also referred to as the social variables) (Brown & Levinson, 1989, pp. 71-84). The higher the face threat, the more likely the speaker is to choose a high number strategy, i.e. adding redressive actions of either positive politeness or negative politeness, going off record or ultimately avoiding doing the FTA. For three of these five super strategies, i.e. for doing the FTA off record, for doing the FTA on record with negative politeness as redressive action, and for doing the FTA on record with positive politeness as redressive action, Brown & Levinson develop additional lower order strategies ending with the final outcome strategies, which are the various linguistic realisations of the overall strategy (see Brown & Levinson, 1987, pp. 101-227).

What follows from this hierarchy of strategies is the notion of the more indirect, the better in the sense that being more indirect poses less of a threat for the hearer's face. This off course has to be weighed against the possible risk of ambiguity associated with indirectness (Brown & Levinson, 1987, pp. 68-70). Going off record, by hinting for instance, might make the FTA less threatening to the hearer's face, but run the risk of the speaker not having her intentions understood. Nonetheless, the hierarchical structure, which is universal, suggests that being indirect is polite as it shows more consideration for the hearer's face.

Brown & Levinson's main point with this is that: "*any rational agent will tend to choose the same genus of strategy under the same conditions – that is, make the same moves as any other would*

*make under the circumstances*" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 71). In other words, although there may be (and most likely will be) cultural differences as to what constitutes a FTA, the hierarchy of strategies for dealing with this is the same across cultures. This is quite an interesting claim, especially since many empirical studies report great variation (Eelen, 2001, pp. 131-141). As an example, my GEBCom colleague reported great variability in the linguistic strategies of her respondents even though the closed roleplay setup of her test ensured that the conditions they were under were in fact the same (see Ibsen, 2016). In fact, in the same fictive scenario of producing a permission in a formal context in which you would expect politeness to be an issue, the participants (all British native speakers) divided almost equally between imperative, declarative and interrogative sentence forms (Ibsen, 2016, p. 112). You might say that they simply interpreted the scenario and its context differently, hence the different sentence forms, but if everything is an (individual) interpretation, would it ever be possible to speak of being under the same conditions?

#### *5.3.3.2. Critique of Brown & Levinson's theory of politeness*

Brown & Levinson's theory, although highly influential, has also gained a fair amount of criticism over the years. Part of this critique deals with the relationship between indirectness and politeness. Wierzbicka (1985, 1991) problematises the link between notions of directness and indirectness with specific linguistic forms such as the imperative and the interrogative and subsequent notions of politeness, arguing that this relationship between directness/indirectness and politeness is by no means universal (Wierzbicka, 1985, p. 175; 1991, p. 88). The notions of direct and indirect in relation to speech acts (and politeness) are "*much too general, much too vague to be really safe in cross-cultural studies*" (Wierzbicka, 1985, p. 175). As an example she mentions the extended use of particles in combination with an imperative in languages such as Russian and Polish as a means of making the imperative softer or the opposite. Her question, then, is whether an imperative softened through the use of particles should then still be considered a direct speech act or an indirect one (Wierzbicka, 1991, pp. 88-89). Her point with all of this is that notions of directness and indirectness should be understood in a specific cultural context rather than an individual setting to actually have any true meaning.

Another part of the criticism stemming from especially non-western scholars problematise the way the relationship between individual and group/community is conceptualised in Brown & Levinson's theory. Both in terms of how the social variables, i.e. 'relative power' (P), 'social

distance' (D), and the 'ranking of the imposition' (R) (Brown & Levinson, 1987, pp. 74-84), are assessed but also in the more overall definition of face as highly individual wants. The criticism from Matsumoto (1988) points to exactly this idea, arguing that the central notion of Brown & Levinson's conceptualisations of face and politeness, i.e. the need to be free from imposition from others and the need to have individual wants acknowledged and accepted as similar to those of others, is based on a strong emphasis on the individual and his/her rights to be an individual, a notion central to the European and American cultures, but not to the Japanese: "*what is of paramount concern to a Japanese is not his/her own territory, but the position in relation to the others in the group and his/her acceptance by those others*" (Matsumoto, 1988, p. 405). And not only is the adherence to the group and the definition of oneself according to the group or in relation to the group what makes the Japanese culture different from the European and American cultures and thus incompatible with Brown & Levinson's notions of face, but the way that politeness is expressed linguistically is also fundamentally different in Japanese.

Along the same lines, Gu (1990) argues that Brown & Levinson's understanding of politeness and its relationship with face cannot account for how politeness works in modern Chinese for several reasons. Firstly, Brown & Levinson's conceptualisation of the negative face as the want to be free from imposition is not consistent with the Chinese conceptualisation of the negative face as being: "*threatened when self cannot live up to what s/he has claimed*" (Gu, 1990, p. 242). As an example, Gu suggests the repeated dinner invitation, which, he argues, will no doubt seem like a threat to the hearer's negative face in a European context, but on the contrary seems polite to a Chinese hearer (Gu, 1990, p. 242). Secondly, Gu argues that Brown & Levinson's claim that (their model of) politeness is not prescriptive or normative as face is not a normative aspect but a basic want of every member of society (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 62) does not hold for the Chinese context. Politeness in a Chinese context is not just instrumental but also highly normative in "*constraining individual speech acts as well as the sequence of talk exchanges*". He bases this argument on the distinction between individual and society, and the focus of Brown & Levinson on the individual, in the sense that: "*politeness is a phenomenon belonging to the level of society, which endorses its normative constraints on each individual*" (Gu, 1990, p. 242).

Instead Gu (1990, pp. 245-255) proposes his own account of politeness through the Politeness Principle with its various maxims, all based on Gricean accounts. His concluding remarks echo those of Matsumoto (1988, p. 424-425) in highlighting that speaking of politeness as a universal

phenomenon is only possible at a very abstract level, and what actually constitutes politeness and polite behaviour will be highly culture and language specific (Gu, 1990, 256). This resonates with Haugh's (2004) argument that politeness strategies and forms differ across languages and cultures because the very way politeness is conceptualised differs as well. Through an in-depth investigation of how politeness is conceptualised in English and Japanese, respectively, he argues for fundamental differences but also for certain similarities or commonalities only at a more abstract level.

Gu's (1990) initial critique of the universal definition of (negative) face is shared by Bargiela-Chiappini (2003), who argues that Brown & Levinson's definition of face is in fact weaker than Goffmann's original definition with respect to cross-cultural validity even though the former was designed to accommodate cross-cultural variation and the latter was intended for intra-cultural application only (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003, p. 1462). Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) reassesses the notion of face and face-work by returning to Goffman's (1967) original definitions, arguing that face-work is central to communication in general and should thus be distinguished from politeness (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003, p. 1464). Politeness should be understood as polite behaviour and separated from linguistic strategies, being "*a multi-facetted social phenomenon that originates within the moral order*" (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003, p. 1465).

Along the same lines, Pizziconi (2003) also questions the relationship between face-work and politeness, especially in relation to positive politeness. Pizziconi (2003), although agreeing to parts of Brown & Levinson's theory, argues that positive politeness, i.e. attending to the hearer's positive face, does not occur only as a redressive action in relation to face threatening acts, but is in fact in play all the time as "*face respecting act [… and] face enhancing act*" (Pizziconi, 2003, p. 1486). As a consequence, positive politeness is not reserved for communication between intimates as Brown & Levinson state (1987, p. 103), but is a general characteristic of communication, and, argues Pizziconi, should be viewed more along the lines of being appropriate than being polite (Pizziconi, 2003, pp. 1486-1487). This view alters the relationship between negative and positive face so that the positive face is of most importance and the maintenance of this is not restricted to redressive actions against potential threats but is in play all the time (Pizziconi, 2003, pp. 1486-1487, 1499).

Eelen (2001) raises a critique against Brown & Levinson (as well as a number of other theories of politeness) on a number of different points all of which I shall not go through here. Of special interest to my project is his claim that Brown & Levinson's theory of politeness is strongly biased in favour of the speaker in the sense that politeness is described solely as a strategy from the speaker, and there is no real elaboration of the actual role of the hearer. The only thing for the hearer to do in order to understand politeness is to reverse the reasoning to arrive at the intention behind the speaker's utterance (Eelen, 2001, pp. 96-97). Eelen argues that: "*the hearer is absent from the theoretical models in the sense that politeness is always seen as a* ***behavioural practice with which the speaker tries to achieve something****, rather than as* ***a behavioural practice with which the hearer tries to achieve something***" (Eelen, 2001, p. 104, author's emphasis). This is problematic because it means that the researcher rather than analysing the entire communication situation ends up analysing only part of it, i.e. that related to the speaker.

Another interesting point of critique relates to the relationship between the individual and a given culture, or the notion of politeness based on what Eelen refers to as *sharedness* (Eelen, 2001, pp. 129-138). Theories on politeness, including Brown & Levinson's, build on an assumption of some shared norms or rules, be these cultural or social, which set the standard for appropriate interaction between the members of the given culture (or society), but none of the theories specifically address *how* these cultural rules become internalised. How can you explain a change in individual behaviour through a change in culture without explaining the link between the individual and the culture? According to Eelen (2001, pp.131-141) the theories explain this link through the notion of sharedness. The norms or rules work because they are shared by all individual members of society. This notion of sharedness is explicit for some theories of politeness, whereas for others, such as for example Brown & Levinson, sharedness is more implicit. Even though, Brown & Levinson focuses on the individual, their model would not work in a given culture, Eelen (ibid) argues, if not its concepts of face, power, distance and rank of imposition were shared by all individuals of that culture. Brown & Levinson's Model Person, i.e. a "*fluent speaker of a natural language […] endowed with […] rationality and face*" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 58), thus becomes the "*embodiment of sharedness*" (Eelen, 2001, p. 132) because all individuals are expected to share this understanding of appropriate behaviour.

This touches upon the previous discussion that under the same conditions any rational agent would be expected to choose the same strategy. Yet claiming that the norms and rules of a certain culture

become the norms and rules of the individuals of that culture simply because they are shared by them makes little sense. It still does not answer the question of *how* they become shared, *how* the individual internalises the cultural. In other words, what seems to be Eelen's (2001, p.131-141) point with all of this is that the notion of sharedness is a theoretical assumption rather than an empirical observation, and this is – assumingly – problematic. Especially, he argues, since many empirical studies report great variability in evaluations of politeness. Since sharedness is an underlying theoretical assumption, even variability is explained through it, i.e. as systematic deviations from a shared norm.

The notion of sharedness and the relationship between individual and culture is of course relevant in a cross-cultural perspective, but perhaps even more so in an intercultural one. If theories of politeness, including Brown & Levinson's, build on the implicit notion that for politeness to work it must be a shared norm by members of a culture, the question necessarily arises of what happens to sharedness in an intercultural or and ELF setting. If we follow the culture relativistic perspective that politeness both as a theoretical and empirical concept should only be conceptualised within a specific cultural and linguistic frame, what happens when we transcend that frame and move into another language at the same time foreign and common? And likewise, even if we maintain a universalistic approach but with cultural adaptations, is there a core to politeness universal enough to handle a shift from mother tongue to a foreign, but common, language?

Kecskes (2015) investigates impoliteness in an intercultural setting and raises the question of what is shared in an intercultural encounter: "*when a Spanish person is speaking with a Chinese person in English, whose norms will define what is considered im/polite*?" (Kecskes, 2015, p. 46). He argues that impoliteness works differently in intercultural communication than in native language communication because it is characterised by much less regularity and much more variety, and as a consequence individual factors take precedence over social factors (ibid). Kecskes (2015, pp. 46-47) states that familiarity with impoliteness formulae in the foreign language and the individual evaluation are the two main factors in the evaluation of impoliteness in an intercultural setting emphasising that some research indicates that non-native speakers make a more literal interpretation of an utterance (i.e. overriding contextual clues) than a native speaker does.

#### *5.3.3.3. Politeness as incorporated in the GEBCom Reception test*

To briefly sum up on politeness, we may conclude that Brown & Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness has not only been highly influential but also greatly disputed. However, what is also apparent is that the criticism does not necessarily share a common ground but comes from different theoretical positions each with their own focus of critique. For some (e.g. Wierzbicka, Gu, Matsumoto), the point of critique was the universalistic conceptualisation of face and its related politeness. For others (e.g. Bargiela-Chiappini, Pizziconi), it was the equating of politeness with face-work which formed the basis of the critique, whilst for others again (mainly Eelen and Watts, but also to some extent Bargiela-Chiappini and Pizziconi) the critique against Brown & Levinson was multifaceted targeting both its emphasis on politeness as strategic speaker behaviour (as opposed to evaluative hearer behaviour), its notion of politeness as a shared cultural norm (as opposed to an individual, situational evaluative practice), the coupling of certain linguistic forms or structures to politeness, etc.

Politeness research, also in an intercultural context, has seen a turn towards a discursive approach, which emphasises the dynamic nature of politeness, looks at politeness from a microlevel perspective, and moves beyond the notion of politeness as a shared cultural norm to an individual evaluation or something which is co-constructed in interaction (Holmes, 2012). This approach resonates well with the general ELF approach to communication as locally situated (and usually quite successful) communication because its norms of interaction are negotiated and constructed during interaction. Some research into politeness in an ELF setting (see for instance Ferenčik (2012) and Batziakas (2016)) follows this approach in analysing bits of ELF talk to show how norms of politeness are constituted during interaction, drawing on elements from their own as well as the other interlocutor's linguacultural backgrounds.

Of special interest to this project is of course the much contested coupling between certain linguistic formulations and politeness. For Brown & Levinson (1987), the connection between for instance negative politeness and indirectness is universal, whereas Wierzbicka (1991), Gu (1990) and Matsumoto (1988) maintain that this is greatly dependent on the specific culture, and Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) and Pizziconi (2003) argue for a complete separation of linguistic forms from politeness to the extent that no linguistic form is inherently polite (or impolite), and again Eelen (2001) would argue that speaking of politeness (including the coupling to linguistic

forms) as a concept shared by all members of a given culture makes little sense because it is an individual interpretation.

I do not expect my project to be able to answer the many questions raised regarding the notion of politeness, nor is it my intention to be able to develop a new (or revised) theory of politeness. Yet I do hope to be able to shed some light on a small corner of this great area, namely the relationship between politeness and linguistic form. By including in my investigation of the comprehension of directives an element of politeness, I want to test if my participants, native-speakers and non-native speakers alike, interpret any relation between a certain linguistic form and what they find to be polite or not. As seen from the discussion of comprehension and its role in communication, the grammar of a language and hence also linguistic form played a very important part in uniting speaker and hearer. As the theory does not directly address the issue of politeness, it seemed even more interesting to include this element and investigate if and how it might relate to linguistic form. When we incorporated the element of politeness into the GEBCom Reception test, we thus kept the context surrounding it the same, altering only the linguistic form. Knowing very well that the individual participant no doubt would make his or her own interpretation of context, at least this interpretation would be the same throughout the texts. Another important point from the literature on politeness was the focus on speaker vs hearer. As this is an investigation into the (hearer's) comprehension of English, we knew that we wanted to emphasise the hearer's perspective. However, as this category was only one of ten categories and only six texts out of 36, there were some restrictions as to how we could do so. Rather than eliciting real speech, we made them evaluate a fictive scenario (an email).

### 5.3.4. On the texts and their different elements

The texts for this category are fictive email correspondences between a student and her/his professor. The category includes six texts in which the linguistic shape of the request is the only thing that varies. The rest of the text remains the same, and the questions (and their possible answers) also remain the same. The scene is an email from a professor to a student about possible corrections to a draft paper made by the student and sent to the professor. The text that the participants have to comprehend is the reply from the professor about the draft paper, which is similar in all texts except for the formulation *perhaps include/you should include/it needs to have/I would probably include/why don't you include/couldn't you include*. The participants take on the role of the student. The idea behind this was to make it more relatable as they themselves are

students. It also means that we see the same relationship in terms of power distance and social distance between speaker and hearer throughout the texts. Exactly how this relationship is interpreted is not controlled by me, but by the individual participant. Naturally I expect great differences in how a professor-student relationship is understood both on individual levels but also across cultures. I do not necessarily see this uncertainty as a problem, but more as a natural consequence similar to the variations that would occur in real life in intercultural setting, be it university or business. Furthermore, however different the relationship is interpreted, it is most likely interpreted in the same way by the same participant across the texts as we change nothing about the relationship in the different texts. The only thing that changes is the formulation we wish to test the comprehension of.

To ease the reading of the further discussion of the different elements in the texts from this category, I have included an example of the text from the test[13] below:

[13] The entire GEBCom test with all 36 texts from all ten categories can be found in Appendix A.

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*
Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi
Thank you for the paper. It is alright but **you should include** more details in section 1.
Kind regards

*Please select ONE answer for each question:*

- Was this email
  - ☐ Polite
  - ☐ Neutral
  - ☐ Rude

  } This question refers to the element of Politeness Evaluation

- This was the professor's
  - ☐ Experience
  - ☐ Opinion
  - ☐ Suggestion
  - ☐ Piece of advice
  - ☐ Request
  - ☐ Urge
  - ☐ Warning
  - ☐ Obligation
  - ☐ Order

  } This question refers to the element of Intention

- Should you change section 1?
  - ☐ Yes
  - ☐ No
  - ☐ Perhaps

  } This question refers to the element of Willingness to Change

*Table 6 Example of text from the category Form of Approaching the Hearer. Marked with bold red is the only part of the text that is altered throughout the six texts from the category. The blue brackets indicate the different elements of interest.*

As can be seen from the example above, the texts for the category Form of Approaching the hearer are followed by three questions[14], each focused on a special element of interest. Politeness Evaluation addresses how the texts are interpreted in terms of being polite or not. Intention relates to which speech act the participants understand the text to express. Finally the Willingness to Change deals with which course of action the participants would take based on the email.

[14] For a discussion of the various concerns and challenges regarding design of texts and questions, please see the following Chapter 6.

As for the options regarding Politeness Evaluation, we simply asked them if they found the email to be polite, neutral or rude. The option of neutral was added based partly on Watts (2005 [1992], 2003) distinction between *politic* and *polite* behaviour. By politic behaviour, Watts (2005 [1992], p. 50) means the: "*socio-culturally determined behaviour directed towards the goal of establishing and/or maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationship between the individuals of a social group, whether open or closed, during the ongoing process of interaction*" or in his later definition (Watts, 2003, p 276): "*that behaviour, linguistic and non-linguistic, which the participants construct as being appropriate to the ongoing social interaction*". In other words, politic behaviour is simply being appropriate in a given situation. Watts (2005 [1992], p. 50) refer to this as the unmarked form of interaction. Contrary to this, are the two marked forms: one is negative, the so-called *non-politic* form, and results in a communication breakdown, the other is positive, the so-called *polite* form (Watts, 2005 [1992], p. 51). His point is that: "*what counts a polite behaviour depends entirely on those features of the interaction which are socio-culturally marked by the speech community as being more than merely politic*" (Watts, 2005 [1992], p. 51). Based on this, I wanted to include the option of neutral to encompass the possibility that the request in the texts was not consider neither polite or rude, but simply appropriate in the given situation.

Regarding the different options for the element of Intention, the directive in the email was thought of from our side as a form of Request, but we wanted to leave open the possibility that the participants might very well have another comprehension of it. We therefore added several different options, ranging from weak to strong in the sense of the impact from the speaker on the hearer[15]. Weak can thus be seen as implying little or no future action from the hearer, whereas strong may be seen as expecting future action from the hearer, depending of course on how the participants comprehend the different options. As a last element, we added a question regarding which course of action the participant would make based on the email, whether or not they would actually make the implied changes. As a speaker would normally issue a directive to make the hearer carry out a desired action, it is interesting to see if the participants actually understand the email as requiring them to act.

[15] The idea to range the suggested Intentions was partly inspired by Wierzbicka's division of English speech act verbs (Wierzbicka, 1987)

# 6. Methodological Reflections

## 6.1. Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, comprehension is a complex issue and even more so in a foreign language. When designing the GEBCom Reception test a lot of work went into discussing how to best tap into comprehension. Whereas the previous chapter dealt with the unfolding of comprehension, the following chapter is dedicated to the practical aspects of testing comprehension. In this relation, comprehension is understood (and applied) as reading comprehension as opposed to listening. The research into different methods for investigating reading comprehension was carried out by me and although the final choices in terms of method were my responsibility, the process of choosing involved many and lengthy discussions with the rest of the GEBCom team. Discussing every possible aspect of choosing a method and designing the test was a way of testing ideas and creating new ones, but also a way of checking the quality of it and reducing my own (unconscious) biases. As the GEBCom team includes other mother tongues than my own Danish, e.g. Russian and Chinese, it was also a way of opening up for the influence of other languages in designing a test for the comprehension of English.

## 6.2. Key issues when testing reading comprehension

A key issue when testing reading comprehension was the fact that reading comprehension is hard (if even possible) to test directly, and even more so when dealing with reading comprehension in a second language (Shohamy, 1984). Another key issue with designing the GEBCom reception test was the fact that most reading comprehension tests are done within foreign language learning or English language acquisition and as a result test according to a plus/minus comprehension scale (e.g. Shohamy 1984, Lee & Riley 1996 and to some extent Sharp 2010). However, for this project I wished to investigate the possible differences in comprehension and this should of course be reflected in the test design by making sure that the test we designed would allow for possible differences in comprehension without forcing them. A substantial amount of research has been done on which methods are best suited for testing L2 reading comprehension (see e.g. Chiramanee & Currie 2010, Riley & Lee 1996, Shohamy 1984, Yu 2008) and opinions clearly differ. In the following I will shortly outline the various methods and elements that we discussed for the GEBCom reception test, including their respective advantages and disadvantages.

## 6.3. Regarding source text(s)

The initial and quite basic idea for the GEBCom reception test was to have the participants read one or more texts in English and then somehow test their comprehension of this afterwards. We discussed several options for the design of the texts for the test.

### 6.3.1. A single, long text vs. several short texts

The advantage of using a single long text is that it may allow for a more profound and thorough testing of comprehension as it will be possible to include several elements that we would like to test and test how these influence each other. It is easily imaginable that if one part of the text gives rise to differences in comprehension, another part of the text might either enhance these differences or on the contrary attenuate them. In this sense a single long text may more adequately reflect reading comprehension in a natural setting. A problem with using a single long text, however, is that it may prove difficult to either find or produce a single long text that includes all of the desired elements to be tested. In addition, a long text may be too difficult for a less proficient reader and even a proficient reader might lose interest or focus while reading a long text, which may affect comprehension. This makes it difficult - maybe even impossible – to know whether possible differences in comprehension are caused by differences in mother tongues or in fact merely by a lack of concentration.

Instead I chose to include several short texts in the hope that this would be more feasible for the participant, regardless of proficiency. Several texts also allowed for the possibility of letting one text deal with only one or a few of the items that I wished to test. This might make it easier to elicit the comprehension of the specific element(s) that I wished to investigate. However, finding, selecting or even creating several texts with the desired elements could be a difficult task and raised important questions such as how many texts to choose, whether they should be related or not, in which order should they appear, etc. Furthermore, one could argue that short texts might not be a true reflection of reality in the sense that they would leave no room for the extra explanation or supportive move that might (or might not) be present in a real life intercultural connection. And, as with a single long text, several short texts might prove too tiring for the participant, which could mean that he/she would lose focus towards the end endangering the comprehension of the last texts.

### 6.3.2. Real life text(s) vs. composed text(s)

Another decision to make was whether to use real life text, i.e. texts written by other people and not necessarily specifically for this test, or to write our own texts specifically for this test. Using real life texts could strengthen the test as it would first of all ensure that the texts reflect real life (at least to a certain level) and secondly because it could reduce the risk of our own assumption about the influence of the mother tongue affecting the test in that way. Ideally, the texts used should involve or evolve around the participants' daily lives now, i.e. university and perhaps work. This might make it easier for them to relate to the texts. On the other hand, it would be very difficult and time consuming to find and select one or more texts that would encompass the elements desired for testing. Furthermore, it might not be possible to establish who the author of the text actually was and how this might have affected the language of the text. There was also the risk that using texts that either included elements from the participants' university lives or evolved around them, e.g. using texts with specific reference to professors or locations, might leave the participants feeling too disclosed and might make the reluctant to give a true answer if they felt that this answer somehow would compromise them in relation to their studies.

As a result, I chose to compose the texts for the test myself in discussion with the rest of the GEBCom group. This would make it easier to integrate the elements I wanted to test and to control exactly where and how they appear. By using fictive texts with fictive persons and circumstances the participants might also not feel uneasy or uncomfortable in relation to their professor or fellow students and might be able to give an answer that reflects their comprehension of the text rather than their concern for their job. The problem with composing the texts ourselves is that it could be said to compromise the validity of the test as we might let our own assumptions affect the texts.

## 6.4. Regarding method for assessing reading comprehension

Having more or less established the sorts of texts to be included in the GEBCom reception test, there was still the question of which method to use to best assess the comprehension of these texts. In the following I shall briefly discuss some of the methods used for assessing reading comprehension, i.e. which questions to ask and what sort of answers to ask for.

### 6.4.1. Multiple-choice test

In a multiple-choice test the participant first reads a text, is then asked a question (or several) and given a list of answers to choose from. It has been suggested (e.g. by Shohamy 1984) that the multiple-choice format is easier for the participant, especially for the less proficient participant, than other methods requiring the participant to actively produce text, e.g. open-ended questions or written recall. The amount and format of the data resulting from multiple-choice questions are also more easily manageable and comparable than individually produced data. In addition, this sort of data lends itself more easily to statistical calculations, if possible or desirable. A considerable advantage is the fact that the participant does not need to produce text to express his/her comprehension. He/she merely needs to make a choice. This is important since asking the participant to produce text in order to test his/her reception of text makes it difficult to know whether his/her answers are truly a reflection of reading comprehension or merely a result of writing skills.

On the other hand, a multiple-choice test is quite limiting in the sense that it very much controls the participant's ability to express his/her comprehension of the test. We might risk losing out on valuable information because there might be (and probably would be) elements to comprehension that we simply could not imagine and therefore had not included in the possible answers. There would also be a risk that the possible answers we provided actually affected the participant's comprehension of the text, perhaps encouraging him/her to change his/her initial answer to a more strategic answer, which would naturally compromise the result. Some researchers, e.g. Lee & Riley (1996) and Chiramanee & Currie (2010), argue that a multiple-choice test is not a valid format for testing reading comprehension because it focuses on specific, isolated bits of the text rather than the overall integrated understanding of the text.

### 6.4.2. Cloze test

In a cloze test the participant is given a text where some of the words have been replaced by blanks. It is now the participant's task to fill in the blanks either on his/her own or by choosing from a list of options. The cloze test seems to be a popular method of testing reading comprehension in a second language and forms part of many of the official English tests. Sharp (2010) argues that when using a rational rather than fixed deletion pattern a cloze-test "*correlates very highly with other L2 reading assessment procedures*" (Sharp 2010, 479). In contrast with this, Lee & Riley (1996) argues that, as with the multiple-choice test, a cloze test does not validly

test reading comprehension because it focuses on isolated bits of text comprehension rather than on an integrated comprehension of the text. Moreover, it may not be the best suited method for the GEBCom reception test as it seems to yield a strong focus on right/wrong answers rather than differences in answers.

### 6.4.3. Open-ended questions

As indicated by their name open-ended questions are questions with no fixed answer. Upon reading a text the participant is asked a question and is free to produce any answer he/she likes. Contrary to a multiple-choice or cloze test the participant is not restricted in his/her answer but is free to include anything that he/she feels is relevant. There is a chance this would yield more diverse and interesting data, hopefully giving way for a more profound understanding of the actual comprehension of the text. On the other hand the participant is still restricted by the formulation of the question in the sense that he/she is unable to go beyond the frame of the question. This could perhaps be avoided or a least to some extent controlled by framing more general questions. However, making the questions too general could make it difficult to compare the answers. It is also worth mentioning that Shohamy (1984) found that open-ended questions proved more difficult for less proficient L2 learners because they had to produce text to express their understanding of text. There is a risk that this might distort or skew the data. As mentioned one of the major difficulties with testing reading comprehension is exactly the issue of using text production to test text reception. In the end we cannot really know if what we are analysing is the result of reading comprehension or text production skills.

### 6.4.4. Written recall and written summaries

Another test method is written recall. Upon reading a text the participant is asked to write down everything and anything he/she remembers about the text. A written summary is similar to a written recall except that the participant is requested to structure his/her recall according to importance, i.e. produce a summary of the read text. Written recall and written summaries are praised by some researchers (Sharp 2010, Lee & Riley 1996), arguing that they produce a more accurate assessment of reading comprehension than e.g. multiple-choice or cloze because they leave it to the participant him/herself to structure his answers. However, especially written recall has been criticised for favouring quantity of recall rather that quality which according to Lee & Riley (1996) cannot be said to truly reading reflect comprehension. For this they find that the written summary is better suited as is encourages the participant to focus on whatever he/she finds

most important, thus – according to Lee & Riley (1996) – resembling a more natural reading situation. One could argue, as does Sharp (2010), that the focus on quantity rather than quality in written recall is avoided if data from written recall is categorised according to both the number of idea units in the recall as well as the importance of the idea units included in the recall. Regardless of choosing written recall or written summaries, a real challenge with this method is, as with open-ended questions, that it requires a certain amount of text production skills from the participant. And as with open-ended questions this again leads to the problem of telling whether differences in answers should be attributed to differences in comprehension or in fact differences in text production skills.

### 6.4.5. The GEBCom reception test method

Having discussed the various methods and their advantages and disadvantages within the GEBCom team, I chose to use a multiple-choice format as the method for assessing the comprehension of the texts. This first of all relates to the key issue previously raised about reading comprehension being only indirectly assessable. By using a multiple-choice format, we reduced the amount of text production that the participant would have to make, hopefully giving answers that are less affected by production skills and thus a better assessment of actual comprehension. Having to read and select an answer is still a process that can be said to impact comprehension, it is still a filter somehow over the actual comprehension; however, it is at least less of filter compared to the text production required for e.g. open-ended questions or written recall.

As mentioned the multiple-choice format has been heavily criticised for focusing too much on isolated bits of information rather than on the overall comprehension of the text (Lee & Riley 1996). Although I do not necessarily disagree with this, I think that this might be less of a problem when assessing comprehension in terms of plus/minus differences across mother tongues than when assessing comprehension in the sense of plus/minus comprehension. By focusing on grammatical elements rather than rhetorical patterns we are at the very core of our research design focusing on specific elements contrary to an overall understanding, so to employ a method that does just this need not be a problem. What may still pose a problem, though, is the risk of restricting the participants in the expression of their comprehension, thus the possibility of losing out on valuable information. To try to avoid this we engaged in several discussions about the formulation of questions as well as the possible answers and adopted these according to input from pilot tests.

For the first pilot test, I tried with mainly multiple-choice but also including several open-ended questions. However, feedback from the participants showed that the open-ended questions were far from a success. The answers provided by the participants were very short and not very insightful. Furthermore, almost all participants reported that the open-ended questions made the test too strenuous and too long. I therefore made a choice to leave them out, and for the final test all answers were multiple choice.

### 6.5. Regarding language

Naturally the language of the text(s) should be English; however whether instructions, questions and even possible answers should be in English as well or in the participants' mother tongues is a question worth addressing, albeit rather briefly. Keeping the questions and possible answers in the participants' respective mother tongue could reduce possible misunderstandings of the questions and it might make the test easier for especially the less proficient L2 reader. This view is supported by Shohamy (1984) who hypothesises that posing questions in the participants' mother tongue and allowing them to answer in their mother tongue might even give a more realistic assessment of the participants' reading comprehension as it reduces the 'noise' or the filter that their answers would go through, assuming that the participants do a mental translation of the questions from English to their mother tongue and of their own answers from mother tongue to English.

On the other hand, keeping the questions and answers in the participants' mother tongues would raise several issues in terms of validity. There is the obvious problem of translation. How could we produce an adequate translation of the questions to ensure that they would give the participants of different mother tongues the same starting grounds? Could they even be said to take the same test if the questions and answers were in different languages? And how would we then compare the answers? How could we ensure that the options are the same across mother tongues, i.e. would we ever really be sure that possible differences in answers were caused by differences in comprehension and not in translation? Furthermore, one could also argue that by keeping questions and answers in the participants' mother tongues we would in fact be keeping them in the mind set of their mother tongues, affecting their comprehension and even compromising the validity of the test. This is of particular importance as I am working from the assumption that our mother tongue might influence the way we comprehend texts and that this influence could pervade

into English and affect our comprehension of English texts. I therefore need to ensure that the test does not provoke any differences in comprehension but only allows them to be disclosed if present.

Hence, the questions and possible answers of the GEB Com reception test are kept in English. This may require participants of a certain proficiency. Working with university students who were all in some way or another familiar with English, we felt quite confident that this would be the case. We therefore chose to keep the language in English throughout the test, hoping to ease comparability across participants of different mother tongues.

## 6.6. Pilot testing

The GEBCom reception test was pilot tested several times on volunteers as well as on friends and family, all from different linguistic background. The feedback from the pilot test was taken seriously and discussed at meetings with the rest of the GEBCom team and the necessary amendments were made. We were given feedback both on the formulation of the texts and their questions but also on the actual design of the test, which element worked and which did not.

# 7. Procedure for Data Collection and Data Analysis

## 7.1. Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the practical aspects of carrying out the GEBCom reception test as well as for the method of analysing the data from the test. In the following sections I shall briefly discuss the execution of the test, the ideal and real participants of the test, the process of initial data analysis and the subsequent selection of texts for further analysis as well as the procedure for analysing data and dealing with the biases in the analysis.

## 7.2. The execution of the GEBCom Reception Test

The test itself was in the format of an online survey designed in SurveyXact, and the participants used either a provided tablet with keyboard or a designated computer to complete the test. The order of the different texts in the test[16] was fixed in the sense that I had distributed them in a way so that none of the similar text would follow immediately after each other, as I feared this would confuse or even annoy the participants. This meant that all the participants went through the test with the texts in the exact same order, which one could rightfully criticise. As mentioned, the test consists of 36 texts. That is a lot, even when the texts are short. There was a real risk that the participants would grow tired along the way affecting how they answered at the end. Perhaps a better solution would have been to distribute half the text in the reversed order of the other. That way, I would still ensure that two similar texts did not follow each other, but would even out the possible tired effects a bit. However, the multiple-choice answers following the texts were randomized and thus changed from participant to participant.

Before starting the test the participants were given a brief oral instruction, in English, and signed a consent form[17] stating the overall scope of the project, the use and confidentiality of their data, their right to withdraw from participating at any time, as well as contact information. The participants received a signed copy as well. Furthermore, the first page of the actual contained instructions to make sure the participants knew what to do. The instructions[18], both oral and written, were kept to a minimum in the sense that the participants were instructed on what they would be going through, i.e. different text with questions about their comprehension of the texts, but with no detailed information about the project as such (though we were happy to talk to them

[16] A copy of the full test with all 36 texts can be found in Appendix A.
[17] A copy of the consent form can be found in Appendix B.
[18] A copy of the written instructions can be found in Appendix C. The oral instructions were more or less the same.

about it afterwards). The main purpose of the instructions was to ensure the participants that this was in no ways a review or evaluation of their English skills and that there were no right or wrong answers. During the test one or more persons from the GEBCom group were present to answer any questions regarding practical matters but not specifically on how to answer the different questions.

It should be noted that the GEBCom Reception Test was always carried out together with the GEBCom Association Test and, in Japan, also with the GEBCom production test. The order of the three tests was: 1) production test – a 20 min closed roleplay, 2) reception test and 3) association test.

### 7.3. Demographic information

Before starting any of the tests, the participants were asked to provide in some basic demographic information, such as:

- Sex
- Age
- Nationality
- Mother tongue(s)
- Other languages
- How often they used other languages
- Stays abroad
- Educational background
- A self-assessment of their English skills on a scale from 1-7 (1: beginner, 7: as good as native) in relation to writing, speaking, reading and listening.

### 7.4. Ideal and real participants

Before commencing data collection, I gave a lot of thought as to the ideal non-native speaker of English participant who would be:

- native speaker of Japanese, Chinese (Mandarin) or Russian
- quite proficient in English, i.e. able to understand the texts and the questions without too much difficulty
- no long stays abroad in English speaking countries (she might then have been too immersed in the culture of English, which could influence her understanding of it)

- man or woman (in equal distribution amongst the participants)
- of any age (preferably all ages would be represented amongst the participants)

As for the ideal native speaker of English participant, she/he would be:

- monolingual native speaker of English
- man or woman (in equal distribution amongst the participants)
- of any age (preferably all ages would be represented amongst the participants)

Reality, of course, was different! Most of my participants were female and between 20-24 years old, and as for the non-native speakers, their (self-assessed) proficiency varied a lot. Moreover, even though the participants varied in how they assessed their own English skills, all were daily or weekly users of English in a private and/or university setting. This of course means that my results are not very representative or very suitable for generalisation to a greater population. However, as my project is explorative and qualitative in its nature, this was never the intention to begin with. I may still be able to see interesting patterns or trends that could then later on form the basis of a larger scale investigation.

Furthermore, some of the participants were removed from the data afterwards for several reasons:

- England: two participants were removed as they had grown up in bilingual homes.
- Japan: three participants were removed. One because he was a professor and had spent 10 years in English speaking countries, another because she had lived 8 years in the US, and the last for being in a (long) relationship with a native speaker of English as well as having had long stays abroad.
- China: two participants were removed as they were employees and not students.
- Russia: four participants were removed. Two of them because their level of English was observed to be too low, they did not understand any of the instructions and one google-translated her way through the test. A third was removed because she was our guide and coordinator during data collection and was therefore too involved in the project. And the last was excluded because she had had a year's stay in the USA.

The native speakers of English were mainly students from the University of Manchester and a few from the University of Oxford. As for the non-native speakers, the Japanese participants were all

from Hiroshima University, the Chinese participants from Shanghai University of Economics and Finance and the Russian participants were from Moscow Higher School of Economics.

The following table gives a brief overview of the participants according to the basic demographic information provided:

| | England | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total number of participants** | 21 | 21 | 23 | 25 |
| **Basic information** | | | | |
| Female | 19 | 16 | 16 | 22 |
| Male | 2 | 5 | 7 | 3 |
| Age 15-19 | 10 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Age 20-24 | 9 | 18 | 20 | 25 |
| Age 25-29 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| Age 35-39 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| **Language relevant information** | | | | |
| Number of people who speak a foreign language (in addition to English for the non-native speakers) | 6 | 4 | 10 | 13 |
| Number of people who have had stays abroad | 4 | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| Number of people who use English daily | N/A | 4 | 14 | 9 |
| Number of people who use English weekly | N/A | 17 | 9 | 16 |
| Level of English (self-assessed average) | | | | |
| Writing | N/A | 3,9 | 4,7 | 4,8 |
| Speaking | N/A | 3,6 | 4,7 | 4,8 |
| Reading | N/A | 4,0 | 5,3 | 5,3 |
| Listening | N/A | 4,0 | 5,1 | 4,8 |

*Table 7 Overview of the participants according to the basic demographic information*

## 7.5. Observations about the execution of the test

As mentioned before, at least one member of the GEBCom test was always present when the participants carried out the tests. This allowed us to assist whenever necessary, but also to observe the participants during the test. The Japanese participants used the most time on the test, contemplating their answers a lot. The Russian participants and the Chinese participants were somewhat faster, and the native speakers of English were very fast. As can be seen from the averaged self-assessments of English in the table above, the Japanese speakers also reported lower levels of English skills than the Chinese participants and the Russian participants. Self-assessment is not necessarily a true reflection of their actual skills, but it made little sense to first test their English on a right-wrong scale to establish their proficiency, and then later have them do a test

which claimed that there were no right or wrong answers and that any answer was as good as the other. It is possible that the Japanese speakers of English were less proficient compared to the Chinese participants and the Russian participants, and that this is the reason why they took more time to complete the test, and this could of course affect their answers. It is also possible that all the non-native speakers of English, coming from academic cultures where testing is done frequently and taken very seriously, contemplated too much over the answers, making choices that reflected strategic considerations rather than their actual comprehension. I will of course have to keep this in mind when analysing data.

## 7.6. Initial data analysis and selection of texts for further analysis

The data analysis for this project was an iterative process, going back and forth between data and theoretical input to data. My data was collected using the online tool and platform SurveyXact. To get an initial overview of the data, I exported everything into Word, grouped according to country and displayed in an index format how many selected what. This gave a general idea of similarities and difference within and between groups, but gave little real insight into the data. To make the overview a bit more nuanced, I went through it manually, noting for each question which participants had selected what, and also noted their basic demographic info (i.e. male/female, other languages, stay abroad and self-assessment of English skills)[19]. This made it quite clear that I had a lot to work with and resulted in the necessary decision to analyse completely only the texts relating to the element of Or and the element of Form of Approaching the hearer (as discussed in Chapter 5).

## 7.7. Biases in analysis and how to deal with them

Although this is an exploratory study and I wish to keep as open as at all possible, my analysis of data is no doubt biased in some ways. As I want this thesis to be open and transparent, I shall briefly discuss some of these biases and how I have dealt with them during data analysis.

How I group all my participants is no doubt very biased. I group according to nationality and keep this grouping throughout the analysis. This means that I see my participants primarily according to which mother tongue they speak. I do this, of course, because my underlying assumption is that the mother tongue goes into our blood through the way we acquire it and that this is not the same

[19] The index of the participants answers annotated with basic demographic information may be found in Appendix D

for a foreign language (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of this). I therefore wish to investigate how comprehension in a foreign language such as English works, if there are differences and if these differences might be influenced by our mother tongue. For this reason it makes sense to group according to nationality. However, this grouping means I ignore or at least pay less attention to other important variables such as gender, age, (self-assessed) proficiency, multilingualism etc. I have determined that mother tongue is what separates (or unite) different non-native speakers of English, because this is relevant for my project, but it may just as well be that gender or the fact that they report themselves to be highly proficient in English, or that they speak several foreign languages besides English that is influencing their comprehension of English texts. Although I am aware of these variables during analysis (I have noted them for all texts, and keep them in mind when discussing similarities and differences), I make no real analysis with any of these variables as the criterion for grouping. This is of course a serious point of critique, and I will of course have to keep this in mind when I discuss my results and the implications of them.

As to how I deal with this bias, my main effort has been to always keep them in mind when I do my analyses even though they are not the main focus. Furthermore, I remind myself when discussing data and their implications hereof that what I have seen in my analysis is only part of a very complex and nuanced picture. I cannot tell the entire story about comprehension in English by non-native speakers, but I can at least tell part of it, so this is what I aim to do.

Another bias relates to looking for differences rather than similarities, points of possible misunderstandings as opposed to points of successful communication. This of course relates to the discussion of the role of English (see Chapter 3), especially the research done within ELF that argues that ELF communication is in fact not troubled by a lot of misunderstandings because the ELF users are very accommodating and employ various strategies to ensure the success of the communication. Though my data, as mentioned, is not straight ELF data in that sense, I share the notion that differences in comprehension, in my case, are just differences, they do not necessarily mean that the non-native speakers have a wrong understanding, they just have a different one. This being said, my analysis still highlights where differences occur as this is the focus of my investigation. I work with this bias in the sense that I remember to note similarities or points on convergence as well. However I focus on differences, not because they in themselves are misunderstandings, but because they could be a potential point of misunderstanding. However, as I investigate only one part of communication, i.e. comprehension, I cannot make any conclusions

about whether points of difference also would constitute points of misunderstanding in an ELF communication situation or if they would in fact be attenuated by the accommodative skills of the ELF users.

Finally, there is the question of languages and their role in this project. I investigate British, Japanese, Chinese and Russian participants' comprehension of English texts. Yet the only language I share with my participants is English. How might I investigate if the different mother tongues have had any influence on any observed differences if I do not understand the involved mother tongues? I have dealt with this troubling question by always trying to keep an open mind and to let the data ask questions instead of posing answers, and of course by consulting additional research within the language in question regarding the specific topic.

## 7.8. Process of analysis

How I analysed my data was a combination of basic descriptive statistics and interpretive analysis. What this means in practice is that I used descriptive statistics to give me an overview, but then went through all the answers in a more individual manner, breaking the overview down into pieces and reassembling it in another way[20]. I did this process several times until I felt that what I had was the most fair representation of data with as many nuances as possible. For the category Form of Approaching the Hearer I also used paraphrasing as a way to break down the overview and assemble the pieces in another manner to let data tell their story in another way. This way of analysing is of course qualitative in nature, which matches the exploratory nature of my project, but also mean that I cannot make any generalisations but only hope to see interesting patterns or trends that could serve as points for a larger study of the phenomenon.

[20] The basis for my descriptive statistics may be found in Appendix E (link to dropbox location of Excel document).

# 8. Analysing the Comprehension of ‘or’

## 8.1. Introduction

As previously mentioned this category was included in the text based on Lorentzen’s long time work (published in Lorentzen 2016) on the use and understanding of conjunction and disjunction in Danish and Russian, respectively, which we then applied to investigate the comprehension of the English disjunctive particle ‘or’ in a specific context. As discussed in Chapter 5, only one text evolves around this element, i.e. text 1 which reads as follow:

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

You are reading an article in the newspaper. The local reporter is doing an interview with a police detective about a crime investigation. You read:

Reporter: Do you have any idea who might have killed Mrs Hewitt or Dr Gott?

Detective: No, unfortunately we have no leads.

How many people were killed?

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2

How many killers were there?

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2

*Table 8 The text designed to investigate the comprehension of the English disjunctive particle 'or'*

Before commencing the actual discussion of the analysis of the answers for this text, I want to make a brief comment on the aim and scope of this discussion. Logic and the role of disjunction in and across languages is a huge area with a massive amount of research. It is neither within the scope nor the aim of this discussion to give a full overview of the understanding and use of disjunction in English, or in Japanese, Chinese and Russian. Although this would no doubt be both interesting and fruitful, the aim of this discussion is merely to investigate the comprehension of ‘or’ in a specific context by native speakers from England and non-native speakers from Japan, China and Russia. When relevant for the discussion, I have added inspiration from a few cross-linguistic studies on disjunction. These do not give a complete overview of disjunction and the

system of disjunctive particles within the different languages, nor are they intended to. Instead they are included to add a bit of perspective to the discussion of the understanding of 'or' in this context. I understand that this will naturally have an impact on the type of conclusions I will be able to draw from my discussion.

Furthermore, I want to add a quick note about the terminology I use for this discussion. Within logic, i.e. formal semantics, there is a distinction between conjunction (∧) on the one hand, in English represented by the conjunctive particle 'and', and disjunction (∨) on the other, represented in English by the disjunctive particle 'or'. Many grammars and dictionaries (e.g. both the Oxford English Dictionary and the Cambridge Grammar of the English Language), however, treat both '*and'* and '*or*' as conjunctions or coordinators as opposed to subordinators (Huddleston, Payne & Petersen, 2002). I shall use disjunction to refer to 'or' and conjunction to refer to 'and', keeping with the terms from logic.

## 8.2. The native speakers of English:

Starting with the native speakers of English their answers illustrated in figure 6 below shows an example of what we may call a grammaticalised distinction in native English.

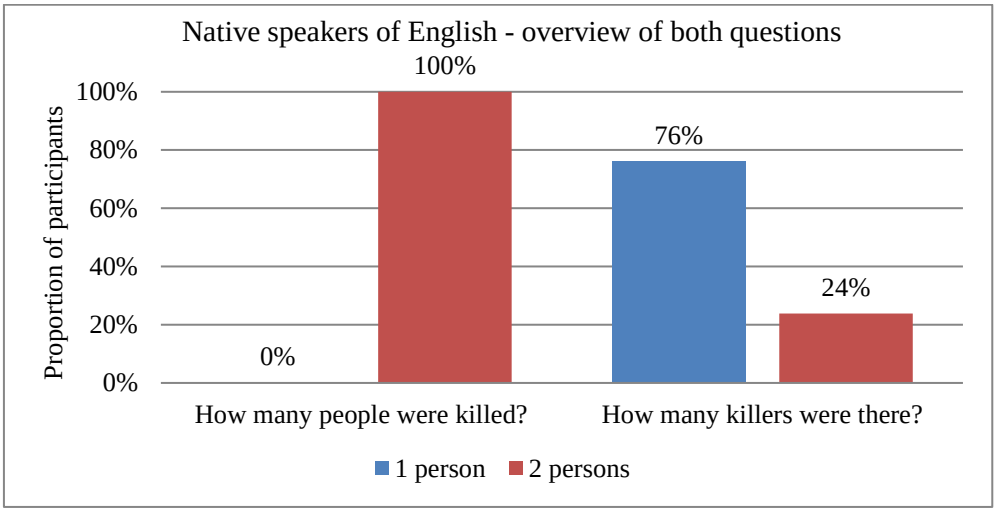


*Figure 6 Overview of the answers from the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

All of the native speakers of British English selected that two people were killed. This clearly shows that the understanding of the disjunctive particle 'or' is not an individual choice made on

background knowledge or context, but rather the choice is governed by pure convention, it is a grammatical distinction. The second question about the number of killers does not show the same kind of agreement. This is perhaps not surprising as the text does not give this information. Though a majority (76 %) of the participants agree on only one killer, about a fourth of them (24 %) selected two killers. This shows that the distinction here is not governed by a rule – the common code – but is an individual interpretation based on the situational context, including the participant's previous experiences etc.

But what is really the function of 'or' here? The OED describes it as: "*conjunction, 1) Used to coordinate two (or more) sentence elements between which there is an alternative. Things so coordinated may differ in nature, or quality, or merely in quantity in which case the one may include the other, as in 'it will cost a pound or one pound fifty', 'two or three minutes', 'a word or two'. The second member may also express a correction or modification of the first, which may be strengthened by expanding or to or even, or rather, or at least*" (Or, n.d.). The same distinction is found in the Cambridge Grammar: "*The relation between **and** and **or** is comparable to that between **all** and **some** – or universal and existential quantification […] With **and** we are concerned with a set in totality, whereas with **or** the members of the set are regarded as alternatives*" (Huddleston, Payne & Petersen, 2002, p.1293). I other words, 'or' coordinates between alternatives. But this definition makes little sense when looking at how the native speakers understood '*or*'. They did not understand Mrs Hewitt and Dr Gott as alternatives (one or the other) but rather as a whole (one and the other). So how do we explain that '*or'* was understood as '*and'*?

Within logic, there is a distinction between exclusive disjunction and inclusive disjunction defined according to their truth value (Huddleston, Payne & Petersen, 2002). A proposition with exclusive disjunction is true only if one of the components is false, i.e. for the 'or' to be an exclusive disjunction in 'I have apples or pears' I would only have apples or only have pears not both (or neither). An inclusive disjunction, on the other hand, is true as long as just one of the components is true, i.e. for the 'or' in 'I have apples or pears' to be an inclusive disjunction, I would have either apples or pears or both apples and pears (Huddleston, Payne & Petersen, 2002). Applying this logic would suggest that the native speakers of English understand 'Mrs Hewitt or Dr Gott' as an inclusive disjunction, not only one is true but both can be, in this case both are in fact, true.

While the application of logic sheds some light on the understanding of 'or', I am still wondering why they would interpret it as inclusive and what it means that it is inclusive in this case as opposed to if it had just been standard conjunction using '*and'*. Huddleston, Payne & Petersen (2002, p.1297) note that sometimes sentences with 'or' will be: "*pragmatically equivalent to sentences with* ***and*** *instead of* ***or*** *[and that] the crucial feature is that although they present a choice it doesn't matter to the speaker which alternative is chosen*" (Huddleston, Payne & Petersen, 2002, p.1297). This would then mean that the participants understand the 'or*'* to be 'and' because they pragmatically infer from the surrounding sentences that since the reporter is asking the policeman about who killed Mrs Hewitt or Dr Gott, they must both have been killed, and the reporter just wants information about the killing of any one of them, it does not matter which, hence the use of 'or'.

There might be another possible explanation as to how the native speakers of English were able to understand 'or' as 'and'. If we return to Lorentzen's work on disjunction in Danish for a moment, we might find some inspiration in applying Durst-Andersen's way of thinking. Danish and English are both hearer-oriented languages, which means, quite literally, that they are directed towards the hearer (Durst-Andersen, 2011a). As mentioned in Chapter 4, the utterance (with its different grammatical elements) serves as information to the hearer; it is a signal to the hearer to recreate the situation behind the speaker's experience of situation. This is how the communication process works for hearer-oriented languages, such as Danish and English. Lorentzen (2016, p.79) highlights that the use of the Danish 'eller' (equivalent to 'or') is a signal to the hearer that the speaker's experience of the situations behind are stored in different places in the speaker's mental storages and the speaker cannot precisely mark where, hence the use of '*or'*. This seems similar to the following example by Huddleston, Payne & Petersen (2002, p.1294): "*There is a copy in the office or in the library, for example, is perfectly consistent with both component propositions being true – and indeed I might say it knowing that both are true, using* or *rather than* and *because I am thinking of a choice as to which copy to consult*". In other words, 'or' in its inclusive use is a signal to the hearer. It carries the information that the speaker's experience of the situations behind two elements joined by the disjunction are either stored in different places in the speaker's mental stores or simply have no real match in the speaker's mental stores.

If we apply this to the case of '*Reporter: Do you have any idea who might have killed Mrs Hewitt or Dr Gott? Detective: No, unfortunately we have no leads*', then the 'or' does not mean that the

reporter does not know which of them were killed, it just means that he/she has no specific picture stored about the killing of them, if it was by the same killer or different ones, same place or different places, same time or different times, etc. The native speakers of English know this. They understand the signal conveyed by 'or' and the information it carries with it, i.e. that both Mrs Hewitt and Dr Gott were killed but the reporter just does not have any specific picture stored about the details of it in his/her mental stores.

## 8.3. The Japanese speakers of English:

Looking at the Japanese speakers of English, we see from the figure 7 below that the majority have the same comprehension of the text as the native speakers of English in terms of how many people were killed.

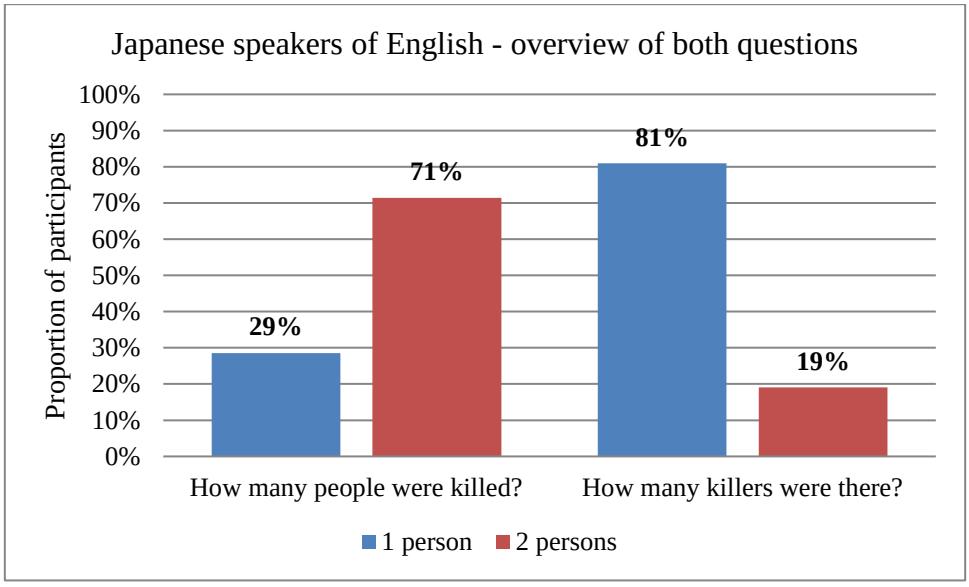


*Figure 7 Overview of the answers from the Japanese speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

However, it does deserve a mention that almost a third of the Japanese participants deviate from this and find that only one person was killed. When I look at the participants who selected only one person killed, nothing really sets them apart from the rest of the Japanese participants. Two are male (out of a total of five), all have English as their only foreign language, and three of the six have had longer stays abroad in English speaking countries (the total amount of Japanese participants who have had stays abroad is nine). Their self-assessed English skills within reading vary from 2 to 6, with the average being 3,9, which is exactly the same as for the entire group. Since I have not carried out a similar test in Japanese, I have no way of knowing whether the 29

% is a result of cross-linguistic influence, but it does show that there is not a single, uniform Japanese understanding of the English conjunctions, but rather different understandings.

Some studies have been conducted on the possible transfer of the Japanese L1 understanding of disjunction into English L2, however mainly in relation to negation. An experimental study by Grüter, Lieberman & Gualmini considered possible transfer of the L1 understanding of negation and disjunction into L2 by Japanese learners of English and English learners of Japanese (Grüter, Lieberman, & Gualmini, 2010). The researchers found what they refer to as 'full transfer' from Japanese into English by Japanese speakers of English of a medium to high self-assessed proficiency, some even with long stays in English-speaking countries. However, they tested disjunction in relation to negation only. What they show is that a sentence like 'Mary does not eat broccoli or spinach' in native English would mean that Mary does not eat broccoli and does not eat spinach (the authors refer to this as the narrow scope of the disjunctive article, i.e. the negation having scope over disjunction, and thus negated disjunction becomes a conjunction condition), but a similar sentence in Japanese with the Japanese disjunction 'ka' would mean that she may eat the one but not the other (the authors refer to this as the wide scope of the disjunctive, i.e. disjunction takes scope over the negation, and this is considered a disjunctive condition).

What their experiments show is that most of the Japanese learners of English transferred their L1 understanding of 'ka' into the English 'or' in the sense that they accepted a disjunctive condition for sentences where the native speakers of English serving as control group did not Japanese (Grüter, Lieberman, & Gualmini, 2010). Interestingly, the same was not the case for the English learners of Japanese, i.e. most of them accepted a disjunctive condition in the same way the Japanese L1 speakers did Japanese (Grüter, Lieberman, & Gualmini, 2010). The authors conclude that this shows that it is harder to learn the narrow scope of disjunction in relation to negation because this involves unlearning the wide scope: "*Not surprisingly, our results show that as a group, English learners of Japanese succeed, while Japanese learners of English fail. This should remind the reader of the substantial body of evidence suggesting that acquiring any given property of the target language is easier than unlearning any property that is transferred from the L1*" (Grüter, Lieberman, & Gualmini, 2010, p.145).

It is important to notice that the experiment above relates to disjunction in relation to negation, i.e. 'not … or', which is not directly the case with the text we use. Furthermore, my text differs

syntactically from the texts used in the experiments by Grüter, Lieberman & Gualmini. These tested the scope of negation and disjunction in two main clauses with the disjunctive particle appearing in the direct object ('*the horse ate the cake, but he didn't eat the carrot or the pepper'*). For our text ('*Do you have any idea who killed Mrs Hewitt or Dr Gott*) the disjunctive particle does not appear in connection with a negation. Furthermore, for our text the disjunctive particle is in a subordinate clause to 'any'. Similar to what Grüter, Lieberman & Gualmini (2010) found, Goro & Akiba's (2004) investigation of the acquisition of disjunction in Japanese argue that the Japanese disjunction 'ka' is interpreted with wide scope in simple negative sentences, but in sentential complements or relative clauses it is in fact interpreted as similar to the interpretation of 'or'. If this is the case, it would mean that the 'or' in my text would have an inclusive interpretation also in Japanese. Which is indeed the case for the majority, 71%, but it does not explain why the 29% made an exclusive interpretation. It suggests that for at least some of the Japanese speakers of English, the information carried by 'or' signalling that both Mrs Hewitt and Dr Gott were killed but that the reporter just does not have any specific picture stored about the details of it in his/her mental stores is not picked up by these participants. Their comprehension is different, perhaps due to differences in the communication process of their mother tongue.

In relation to the second question regarding the number of killers, the Japanese speakers of English resemble the rest of the groups, including the native speakers, with the vast majority (81%) agreeing that there is only one killer. As mentioned previously, the text does not necessarily give any information as to how many killers there were, which makes it all the more interesting that the Japanese speakers of English seem to agree more on this matter than on the number of victims, which – if they fully understand the English common code – should be given by the text.

Summing up, although the majority of the Japanese speakers of English show comprehension similar to that of the native speakers of English, almost a third do not, but instead seem to understand the disjunctive particle to be exclusive. As I do not have relatable mother tongue data, it is not possible to conclude that these are cases of transfer, but it is still possible to make the conclusion that something seems to be influencing the comprehension of a third of the Japanese speakers of English, meaning that they form another comprehension of 'or' than that of the native speakers, i.e. a comprehension of 'or' as a signal that both people were killed but the reporter does not have any specific picture stored about the details of it in his/her mental stores.

## 8.4. The Chinese speakers of English:

The answers from the Chinese speakers of English are quite interesting for this text. As figure 8 below shows, the majority of them find that two people are killed, but the majority are far less convincing than especially the native speakers and the Russian speakers of English, and to some extent also more so than the Japanese speakers of English.

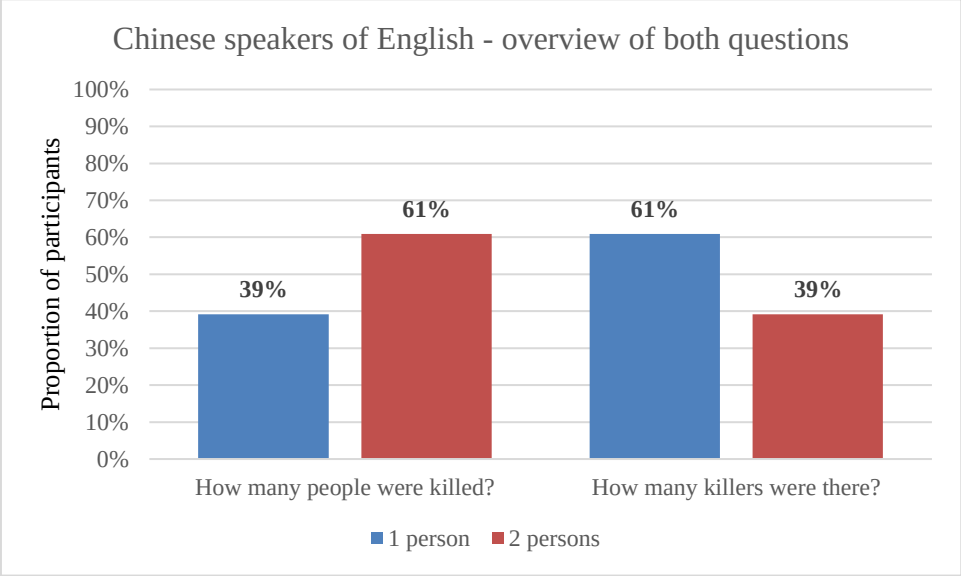


*Figure 8 Overview of the answers from the Chinese speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

As seen from the chart above, 39% of the Chinese speakers of English understand that only one person was killed. This is rather a lot. Especially since the Chinese speakers in general evaluate themselves to be very proficient in English (their self-evaluated average is 5,3 for reading skills). Looking at the nine participants who selected only one victim, they concur with this pattern and all evaluate themselves between 4 and 7, with the average being 5,3, i.e. exactly the same as for the rest of the group. The rest of their demographic information does not reveal anything particular about them either. As with the Japanese speakers of English, I have not made a similar test in their mother tongue, which means I shall not make any conclusion that the 39% is a result of transfer from their Chinese mother tongue. However, it does show that there is no uniform understanding of the English disjunction with the Chinese participants, which could indicate that something is influencing their comprehension, and this is interesting.

There has been some work on cross-linguistic influence from L1 Chinese into L2 English, but as with the studies mentioned for the Japanese speakers of English, most seem to investigate disjunction in relation to negation discussing what takes scope over what. Furthermore, a lot of the studies relate to child acquisition of disjunction in different languages, and only indirectly relate to adult speakers. Crain (2012, p. 178ff) finds that adult native speakers of Chinese (Mandarin) are similar to native Japanese speakers in the sense that they interpret the Chinese disjunction ‘huozhe’ as meaning one or the other but not both, i.e. the exclusive interpretation, in simple sentences with negation. And, also similar to the Japanese interpretation of the Japanese disjunction described by Goro & Akiba (2004), Notley, Zhou, Jensen, & Crain (2012) found that the Chinese disjunctive particle ‘huozhe’ is interpreted as inclusive (i.e. similar to the English inclusive interpretation of ‘or’) when negation appears in a higher clause than the clause with the disjunction. But, as also discussed under the Japanese participants, it is unclear how this might relate to my data, if scope (or not) of disjunction may offer any explanation of the answers from those Chinese speakers of English who comprehended that only one person was killed.

In relation to the second question, the Chinese speakers of English resemble the rest of the groups, including the native speakers with a majority of the participants agreeing on one killer, and a minor group agreeing on two killers.

Summing up, it is interesting that so many of the Chinese participants display a preference for the exclusive interpretation of ‘or’ even though they assess themselves to be quite proficient within English. This indicates that their comprehension of meaning behind ‘or’ in this context is not the same as the native speakers, i.e. that they do not understand ‘or’ as a signal that both were killed, but reporter has no specific picture stored with details about this. Instead they comprehend ‘or’ as exclusive, i.e. in the ‘either…or’ sense.

## 8.5. The Russian speakers of English

As seen from figure 9 below, the Russian speakers of English resemble the native speakers in English quite a lot in that 92 % found there to be two victims. This is interesting as it contrasts with what Lorentzen (2016) found in her analysis of Russian and Danish use of conjunction and disjunction and what inspired this investigation to begin with.

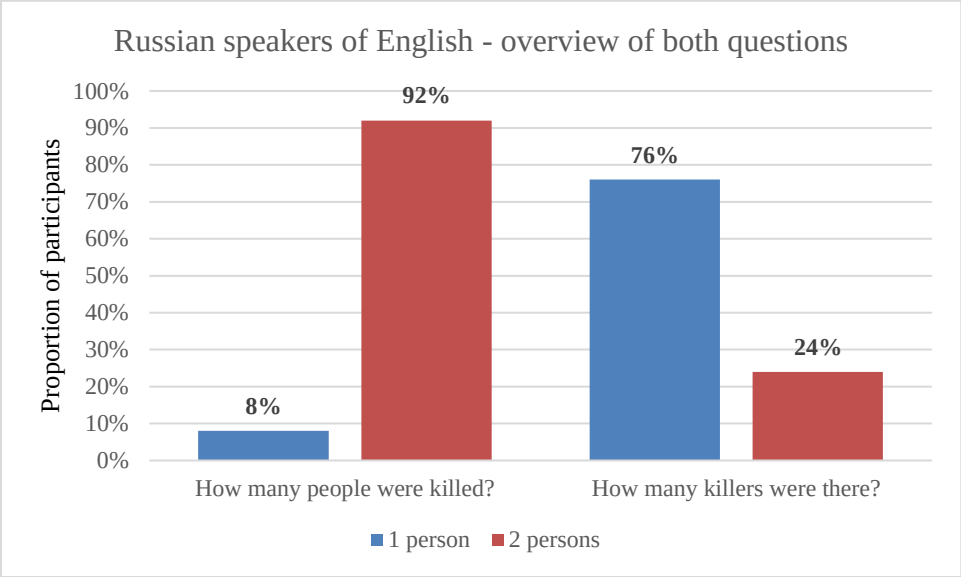


*Figure 9 Overview of the answers from the Russian speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

Looking at the two Russian speakers of English who did not choose two victims, but only one, nothing seems to set them apart from the rest of the Russian participants and in terms of proficiency both evaluate themselves to be rather proficient in English when it comes to reading.

As this project does not include a similar test in their mother tongue, is not possible to say if the similarities in comprehension may be a case of positive transfer, i.e. if there is something in their native Russian which helps them make form this comprehension of the English 'or'. As Lorentzen (2016, pp. 81-83) states, contrary to Danish (and to English) Russian has a large variety of different disjunctive particles or constructions available each with its own specific meaning and function. It may be possible that this system of disjunctive particles in some way helps them form a comprehension similar to the native speakers'. It is also possible that this similarity in comprehension is simply an indication that the Russian speakers of English are at a level of proficiency in terms of understanding English that reflect the native speakers of English. They understand that the English disjunction in the situation does not function as the Russian equivalent would (i.e. that only one of the two persons were killed), but instead they mirror the native speakers' understanding, i.e. that 'or' in this text carries the information that two persons were indeed killed but that the speaker has no specific picture stored about this.

Regarding the second question, the Russian speakers of English resemble all the other groups, including in particular the native speakers of English in that the vast majority (76%) choose one killer.

Summing up, the answers from the Russian speakers of English are interesting because they are quite similar in their comprehension to that of the native speakers. This is unlike what Lorentzen (2016) found in her thorough investigation of the use of disjunction and conjunction in translations between Russian and Danish, and perhaps also contrary to what I had expected, yet this does not make it any less interesting. It is important to notice that Lorentzen (2016) investigated the use of disjunction and not the comprehension of it. In other words, her investigation of the differences in this between Russian and Danish showed how differences in the communication process of reality-oriented and hearer-oriented languages affected something as basic and profound for language as the use conjunction and disjunction, which was otherwise considered to be universal across languages. However, it seems that at least for disjunction in this particular context, I cannot draw the same conclusion for the comprehension of it. In other words, though there are clearly differences in their use across Russian as reality-oriented language and Danish as hearer-oriented language, this small investigation found no real difference in the comprehension of the English disjunctive particle 'or' between native speakers of English and Russian speakers of English in this context.

## 8.6. Summing up on the comprehension of 'or'

To briefly recapture the findings from the analysis of the comprehension of 'or', the answers of the participants showed several interesting items. First of all, as figure 10 below shows, all groups

show a majority for an inclusive reading of 'or', i.e. that two people were in fact killed.

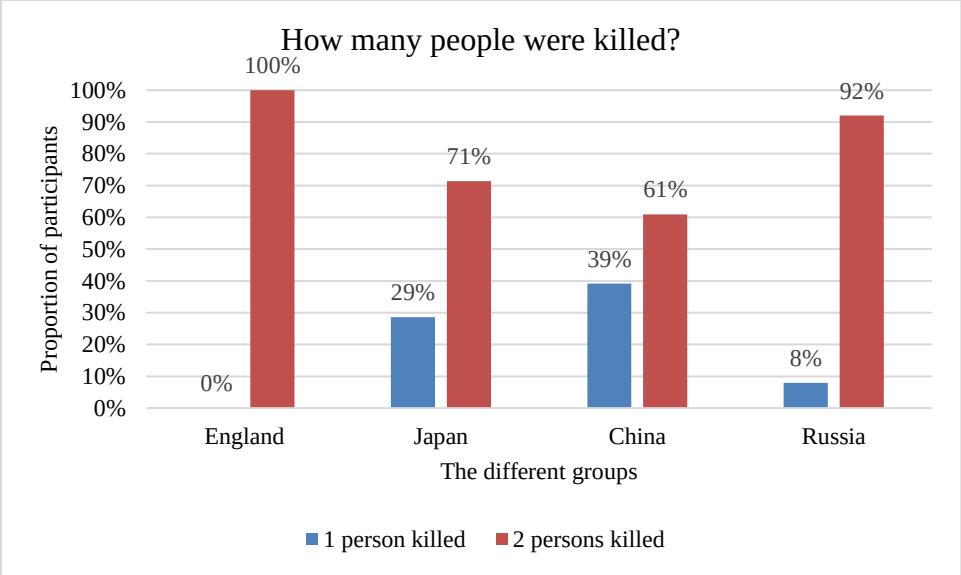


*Figure 10 Overview of the answers to the question of, how many people were killed, across all groups. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

However, it also showed that the native speakers were the only group to agree completely on this. This means that for the native speakers of English the disjunction 'or' is fully grammaticalised, i.e. encompassed by the common code of the English language. We are able to explain this according to the communication process of the English language, as laid out in the theoretical foundation, by seeing the disjunctive particle 'or' as information to the hearer – this is indeed the main function of the grammar of a hearer-oriented language – and thus as a signal that the two combined elements (Mrs Hewitt and Dr Gott) are not stored in the same mental storage of the speaker, or the hearer for that matter, which implies that they are not killed at the same place and time. And this could of course also suggest that there could be two killers.

Secondly, the data showed that the majority of all the non-native speakers actually did resemble the native speakers in their understanding of the disjunctive particle 'or', but it did also highlight a few interesting differences. Most similar to the native speakers were the Russian speakers of English. This was interesting since it contrasted with the findings by Lorentzen (2016) on the use of disjunction and conjunction, which means that even though there are clear differences in the use of disjunction, I did not find clear differences in the comprehension of 'or' in this specific context. On the other hand, although the majority of the Japanese and Chinese speakers of English also understood the disjunction as inclusive, quite a few of especially the Chinese speakers of English interpreted it as exclusive, i.e. they selected that only one person was killed. This is

interesting as it indicates that for the Japanese and especially the Chinese speakers of English, there is no uniform interpretation of ‘or’ in this context. This suggests that they do not understand the distinction to be grammaticalised in the English language, at least not in the same way as the native speakers. It does not necessarily work as a signal indicating that the two combined elements (Mrs Hewitt and Dr Gott) are not stored in the same mental storage of the speaker. It may have an inclusive reading, but it may also be read exclusively as meaning that only one person was killed.

As for the second question regarding the number of killers, all groups were very similar as seen from figure 11 below.

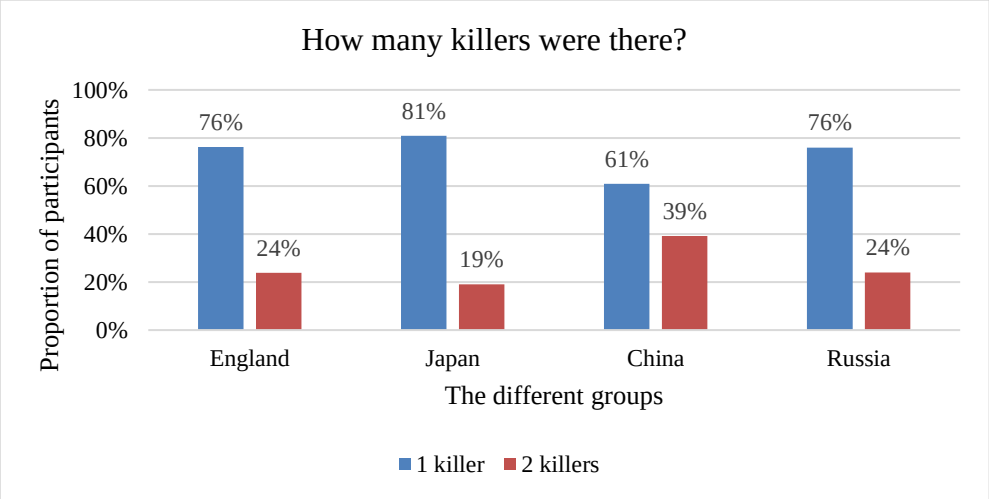


*Figure 11 Overview of the answers to the question of how many killers there were across groups. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

The majority believed there to be only one killer, but there was no complete agreement, not even on the part of the native speakers. The text itself did not give any information on the number of killers. The participants would have to infer it from their own context, their own experiences. It is therefore not surprising that the participants made rather individual interpretations of the answer to this question.

In conclusion, the test of the understanding of the English disjunction ‘or’ showed that the majority of non-native speakers interpreted it in the same way as the native speakers, but especially the Japanese and Chinese speakers of English varied in their comprehension. We have to compare this to the theoretical foundation of comprehension as the hearer’s recreation of the journey made by the speaker, but in her own mind and in the opposite order, i.e. unwrapping first

the stage of framing and then the stage of framing. The utterance is the first meeting point between the speaker and hearer, and grammar as the common code of language facilitates this meeting. The speaker and hearer then meet for the second time at the mental point of contact, after the hearer has recreated the journey made by the speaker, but of course in her own mind. The fact that a part of the Japanese and especially the Chinese speakers of English have a different comprehension of ‘or’ suggests that the journey that they made from the first meeting point to the second to form a full understanding is not the same as the native speakers’ journey. In other words, they do not seem to necessarily follow the same process of comprehension.

# 9. Analysing the Comprehension of Form of Approaching the Hearer

## 9.1. Introduction

As mentioned previously, the category Form of Approaching the Hearer (for ease of reading henceforward abbreviated FoA) includes six texts all evolving around the same fictive scenario of an email correspondence from a professor to a student about possible changes to a paper. The texts are varied only in terms of the linguistic formulation of the (possible) request for changes. The context around the linguistic formulation remains constant throughout the texts. However, as also mentioned, the texts themselves do not specify the context very much, but leave it to the individual participant to make her own interpretation of the relationship between student and professor. In other words, the social variables will no doubt vary from participant to participant but will nonetheless most likely remain constant for the individual participant throughout the texts.

One could rightly argue that the selections the participants make are based more on the interpreted context and less (if even) on the linguistic formulations and thus give little insight into what function the linguistic form may have for the comprehension of the text. In fact, this perspective would align with the view on for instance politeness as a situated and cumulative social practice expressed by many recent scholars as we saw in Chapter 5 in the discussion on politeness. However, unless the individual participant actually makes the exact same selections throughout all texts, then variations in their selections will be a strong indication that the linguistic formulations do influence their comprehension because it is the only thing that varies. In reality, the distinction is probably less clear and the relationship and the limits between linguistic content and context may be difficult to define. For my participants at least, the picture is somewhere in between. Many of the participants make the same selections for two, sometimes (but less often) three, texts, show a preference for a certain Intention, and quite a few of especially the native speakers and the Chinese speakers of English keep the same selection of Willingness to Change throughout the texts. However, only a few of the participants actually make the exact same selection for every text: three of the native speakers, two of the Japanese speakers of English, three of the Chinese speakers of English and three of the Russian speakers of English.

The table below serves as a kind reminder from Chapter 5 of the text with its variations as well as the subsequent questions and possible answers.

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but **perhaps include** more details in section 1.

Kind regards

**you should include**
**it needs to have**
**I would probably include**
**why don't you include?**
**couldn't you include?**

- Was this email
  - ☐ Polite
  - ☐ Neutral
  - ☐ Rude

  } This question refers to the element of Politeness Evaluation

- This was the professor's
  - ☐ Suggestion
  - ☐ Order
  - ☐ Piece of advice
  - ☐ Warning
  - ☐ Opinion
  - ☐ Obligation
  - ☐ Request

  } This question refers to the element of Intention

- Should you change section 1?
  - ☐ Yes
  - ☐ No
  - ☐ Perhaps

  } This question refers to the element of Willingness to Change

*Table 9 Example of the text investigating the comprehension of directives, including the linguistic variations of the formulation of the request*

The subsequent sections will present the analysis of the many data generated from this category. For ease of reading, I shall go through the texts one by one discussing first the native speakers of English and their answers and then comparing these to the responses from the non-native speakers from Japan, China and Russia, respectively, focusing on where they stand apart but also where they converge.

The process of my analysis has been carried out at various levels. I started by using basic descriptive statistics to give an overview of the overall picture, but then proceeded by breaking the overall picture down into smaller pieces by combing the answers from all three questions into

a single utterance for each participant. This meant that if a participant selected Polite for the first question, Piece of Advice for the second question and Yes for the third question the complete utterance would be "This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1" whereas if a participant selected Neutral for the first, Suggestion for the second and Perhaps for the third question the utterance would read "This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1" and so on. Combining their selections this way allowed me to better and more easily relate the participants' selections for the three questions to each other and thus better understand the relationship between them. I then compared this to the overall picture to form a new and more nuanced understanding of the participants' comprehension of the texts. Finally, I combined this with making a prototypical paraphrasing of the comprehension expressed by the native speakers of English based on the communicative process and the theoretical foundation for directives laid out in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, respectively. This last paraphrasing helped me grasp the essence of the native speakers' comprehension, which also made it possible to discuss where and why the non-native speakers were similar and different. The basis for the statistical data can be found in Appendix E and the combinations of selections into complete utterances are found in Appendix F.

## 9.2. On paraphrasing the native speakers' comprehension – a supplementary analytical tool to the theoretical foundation for directives

Before commencing the actual discussion of data, I want to make a brief note of what I mean by making a paraphrase to capture the prototypical comprehension of the native speakers of English and using this as a means to explain where and possibly why the non-native speakers are different (or similar). This paraphrasing builds on two different yet related elements. The first is the process of anchoring as laid out in Chapter 4. This process and its actual content is relative, depending on both the overall supertype of the language but also on the individual language and how it has implemented the overall principles of the supertype into certain concrete (grammatical) rules and structures[21]. Since English is a hearer-oriented language, the process of anchoring takes its starting point in information, which was the signal left by grammar and the first and physical meeting point between speaker and hearer. From here the hearer must unwrap first the layer from framing

[21] According to Durst-Andersen (2011), the languages of the same supertype will share same overall principles but might (and most likely will) differ in how these principles are interpreted as grammatical rules. See Durst-Andersen (2011, pp. 155-156) for a further discussion of the relationship between principles and rules in relation to communicative supertypes.

to get to the speaker's experience, i.e. the symptom, and then the layer of naming to get to the situation behind the experience, i.e. the model of the situation in reality. Once here, the hearer will have mentally recreated the journey made by the speaker (but in reversed order and in her own mind), and speaker and hearer meet again, so to speak, at the second meeting point, the mental meeting point.

The second element to the paraphrasing is the understanding of directives as discussed in Chapter 5. This understanding implies that a directive is multi-layered, i.e. may consist of more than one speech act, and as a consequence contains three sets of conditions: those relating to the hearer (satisfaction conditions), those relating to the speaker (obedience conditions) and those relating to the Request itself. Though these conditions are always present, they need not all be verbalised in a directive. Along the same lines, any directive is always both a symptom of the speaker's desire (to change a situation or have it remain unchanged), a signal to the hearer (to act) and as a model of the situation that the speaker desires the hearer to carry out. Since the elaboration of the GEBCom Reception Test, Durst-Andersen's understanding of directives has been further elaborated to view directives, from the point of view of the speaker, as a layered process consisting of four stages all illustrated in the model the Pragmatic Wheel[22]. This model served as inspiration for my analysis of the answers of the participants especially when making the prototypical paraphrases of the native speakers' comprehension. I shall therefore very briefly address the key elements of this elaboration of directives.

### 9.2.1. The Pragmatic Wheel as an analytical tool

Central to both theory and model is the layered structure of the directive which appears by looking at the three different kinds of indexes symptom, signal and model (Durst-Andersen, 2011aa, pp. 151-154 & 2016a, 23-25). A symptom points to the hearer and matches Bühler's expressive function. A signal points to the hearer and can therefore be related to Bühler's appeal function. And lastly, a model points to the situation (in reality) in the sense that it is a representation of it involving both the speaker and the hearer and as such matches Bühler's representative function. The symptom-signal-model composition of directives means that they seem to have more in

[22]Durst-Andersen's elaboration of the understanding of directives encompassed by the Pragmatic Wheel was carried out after the actual design of the GEBCom Reception Test and was based on the vast amount of data yielded from the GEBCom Speech Production Test. See Ibsen (2016) for a discussion of some of the data that served as inspiration for the elaboration of the theory and the development of the Pragmatic Wheel.

common with non-verbal communication, i.e. gestures, than traditional verbal communication (Durst-Andersen, 2016a, p. 23.-36). Let us take the wave of a hand as an example. John has seen his good friend across the room at a lecture. The extension of John's arm and his waving movement with this hand is first of all a symptom, it points back to his feelings: he has recognised his friend and wants to greet him from afar. At the same time the extension of his arm and the waving of his hand is a signal, it points to his friend to let him know that John wants to establish contact with him from afar. Lastly, the extension of his arm and the waving movement of his hand is also a model, involving both John and his friend, as it shows the friend what to do to establish contact from afar, i.e. that the friend also has to raise his arm and make a waving gesture with his hand. What follows from this is that a symptom is first-person oriented, a signal is second person oriented and a model is third-person oriented (Durst-Andersen, 2016a, p. 23-26). Also apparent from this is the strong connection between symptom and signal: At the end of a signal will always be a symptom and vice versa. In that sense they are inseparable, which also means that if a signal is apparent in an imperative, the symptom will also be there (Durst-Andersen, 2016a, p. 23-26).

Directives function much along the same line as the non-symbolic gestures: they are at the same time a symptom of the speaker's intentions and desires, a signal to the hearer to return or fulfil these intensions and desires and a model of how the hearer should do so. The Pragmatic Wheel is therefore based on these central elements. The model should be considered universal across languages and speech acts, i.e. it can encompass any (directive) speech act in any given language (Durst-Andersen, 2016a, p. 26-28). As directives come in three different sentence forms, an imperative sentence form, as a declarative sentence form and as an interrogative sentence form, the Pragmatic Wheel, though in its core components the same, has three adaptions, one for imperatives, one for declarative and one for interrogatives. Each sentence form represents a specific approach to solving a problem related again to the three obligatory participants in a communication situation, i.e. the speaker, the hearer and the situation (in reality).

The choice between the three depends on where the speaker thinks the solution lies. The imperative sentence form means that (the speaker thinks that) the solution to the problem lies in the situation itself, the declarative sentence form means that (the speaker thinks that) the solution to the problem lies with the speaker, and the interrogative sentence form means that (the speaker thinks that) the solution lies with the hearer (Durst-Andersen, 2016b).

| Sentence form | Where does the solution lie? | What does the speaker do? | Language preference |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Imperative** | In the situation itself | Solves the problem (solution) | Russian |
| **Declarative** | With the speaker | Makes a proposal to a solution to the problem (proposal) | Chinese |
| **Interrogative** | With the hearer | Makes an open proposal (open proposal) | English |

*Table 10: Overview of the relationship between choice of sentence form and how the problem is solved, i.e. which versions of the Pragmatic Wheel model the speaker applies. Note that although languages may show a preference for one of the three sentence forms, the choice is ultimately an individual choice made by the language user.*

In other words, with the imperative, the speaker solves the problem (solution), with the declarative she proposes a solution to the problem (proposal), and with the interrogative she does not specifically mention the problem, but makes the hearer an open proposal which the hearer can choose to interpret however she likes (open proposal) (Durst-Andersen, 2016b). Although languages may have a natural preference for one of the sentence forms, this does not mean that they will always choose that. Rather than being a grammatical distinction embedded in the supertype, choice of sentence form is a pragmatic distinction. In other words, this is the individual choice of the speaker of a language and not the grammar of a language.

To illustrate the dynamic process of directive, I shall briefly go through the Pragmatic Wheel for declaratives as seen in the model below.

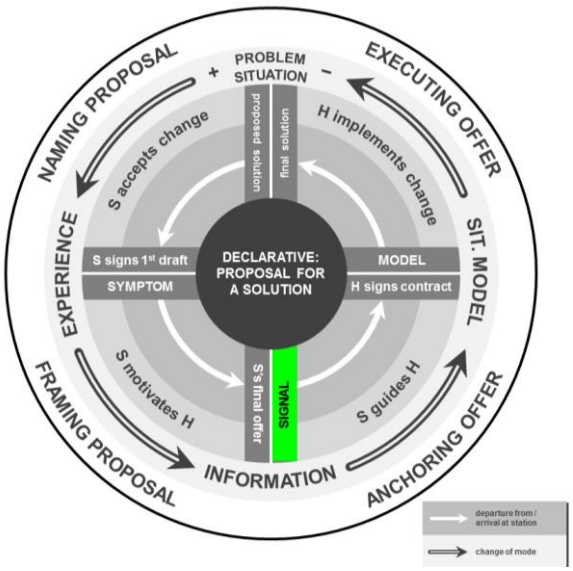


*Figure 12 The Pragmatic Wheel for declarative sentence forms, from Durst-Andersen (2016a, 2016b)*

The Pragmatic Wheel for the declarative sentence form shows the process that the speaker (and to some extent also the hearer) goes through when the speaker wants to propose a solution to the problem. From the top and moving anti-clockwise, the speaker starts by identifying a problem (the current problem situation) and in her thoughts proposes a solution to this problem. When the speaker names her proposal, she also shows that she accepts the current problem situation but that she wants to change it through her proposal to a solution (Durst-Andersen, 2016, pp. 26-32). This is what is referred to at 9 o'clock in the model as "*S signs the first draft*", and her proposal thereby functions as a symptom of her experience of the problem. When the speaker then frames the (signed) proposal to the hearer, she motivates the hearer by removing any obstacles, i.e. the stage of naming is where we find the Satisfaction Conditions. The proposal is then "*wrapped in information*" so to speak and goes to the hearer as a complete offer (rather than a proposal) (Durst-Andersen, 2016, p. 27, my translation). This is what is marked as "*S's final offer*" at 6 o'clock in the model. The final offer is thereby a signal to the hearer to act, to consider the offer.

Finally, the speaker may choose to add certain conditions to this final offer or certain specifications of how it should be executed as a way of guiding the hearer. In other words, the stage of anchoring is home of the Obedience Conditions. The addition of a potential Sanction or Compensation to the utterance makes it work as a complete model for the hearer to follow. If the hearer agrees to the offer, i.e. if "*H signs contract*" as the model reads, she will then follow the model to implement the change desired by the speaker, so that there no longer is a problem (this is what is meant by the
"-*problem situation*" at 12 o'clock in the model). In other words, the Pragmatic Wheel for declaratives shows how a directive in the declarative form works as a symptom of the speaker's experience of a solution to a problem, a signal for the hearer to (re)act to the speaker's proposal to a solution and as a model of exactly how to act to actually solve the problem.

Though the process described above focuses on the declarative sentence form as the speaker's proposal to a solution, the overall process including the four stages, is the same for the imperative and the interrogative sentence form. The main difference between them lies in their function. That is, the imperative functions as a direct solution to the problem, meaning that naming the solution implies that speaker desires a change, framing the solution implies that the speaker removed the obstacle and anchoring means that the speaker directs the hearer. The interrogative, on the other

hand, works the speaker's open proposal to a solution, and as a consequence naming means that speaker wonders about a possible solution, framing the possible solution means the speaker stimulates the hearer and anchoring means that the hearer asks herself about accepting the open proposal. In other words, common to all three sentence forms is that they are a signal to act; they all give a green light to cross the street so to speak. The difference lies in the strength of this signal, of how to cross the street: if the hearer is directly pushed into it by the speaker (the imperative), if she is guided across by the speaker (the declarative) or if she is asked to cross it herself (the interrogative).

As seen from the above and as mentioned in Chapter 5 on the discussion of the theoretical foundations for the GEBCom Reception Test, the process of directives as encompassed by the Pragmatic Wheel gives little specific information on comprehension and the role of the hearer. If the different sentence forms represent the speaker's different strategies for achieving her goal, it seems only reasonable to assume that these strategies will be recognised by and have that effect with the hearer, otherwise the speaker would have little incentive to use them. I have therefore built my use of the Pragmatic Wheel for the analysis and paraphrasing of the native speakers' comprehension around the same assumption that underlies the understanding of comprehension in a general communication setting, i.e. that comprehension means that the hearer in her own mind recreates the journey made by the speaker only in reversed order. For the Pragmatic Wheel this means, very broadly speaking, that the comprehension of a directive, be it in the shape of an imperative, a declarative or an imperative, will involve the unwrapping of the anchoring process, i.e. the (potential) Obedience Conditions, to understand the model of the directive, unwrapping the framing process, i.e. the Satisfaction Conditions to understand the signal of the directive, and unwrapping the naming process to understand how the utterance is a symptom of the speaker's experience of a problem. In the paraphrasing of the native speakers' prototypical comprehension I therefore look for how they have comprehended the different elements of the directive to gain insight into what part of the utterance functions as for instance Obedience Conditions and Satisfaction Conditions and how they are able to do so.

### 9.2.2. On the relationship between the communication process and the process for directives

Before commencing the actual discussion of the results, I also want to briefly address the relationship between the two models of comprehension involved in the analysis, i.e. the communication process and the process of directives as expressed in the Pragmatic Wheel. At the

surface, the process of the directives seems similar to the communication process, yet the two processes are different in mainly two ways. Firstly, they differ in terms of how many stages they comprise and who does what at each stage. The communication process consists solely of the three stages naming, framing and anchoring, where the speaker goes through naming and framing and the hearer then continues through anchoring (although, as discussed, the process of anchoring is really a twofold unfolding or recreation of framing and naming). The process for directives, however, contains the four stages: naming, framing (satisfaction conditions), anchoring (obedience conditions) and executing. The speaker goes through the first two (naming and framing) on her own and in the end delivers the contract, so to speak. The third stage (anchoring) is shared by speaker and hearer in the sense that the speaker may choose to formulate an addendum to the contract, to add certain (obedience) conditions which the hearer will have to take into consideration along with the contract itself when making her decision to sign the contract or not. If she agrees to the contract and its possible addendum, the hearer is then responsible for the last stage, namely the execution of it.

Secondly, the processes are different in relation to what constitutes the actual content of the stages and if this is language dependent or universal. In other words, for the communication process what constitutes the actual content of the stages of naming, framing and anchoring differs between languages depending on their supertype. For the process of directives, on the other hand, the content of the stages is universal and thus regardless of the language in question, because it builds on the logic from non-verbal communication. In other words, in relation to a directive, be it in the shape of an imperative, a declarative or an interrogative, the process of naming will always be a symptom of the speaker's experience, the process of framing will always imply the speaker removing whatever obstacle needs to be remove, i.e. satisfaction conditions, and thereby be a signal to the hearer, and the process of anchoring will always be the speaker's way of directing the hearer, i.e. obedience conditions, and thus also serve as a model for the speaker to follow to recreate the (desired) situation in reality.

#### *9.2.2.1. Conflicting or complementing processes?*

From this it might seem that the two processes conflict. After all, directives, although a specific kind of communication, is communication nonetheless, so how can the process related to it be universal if the process related to communication depends on the language in question? The theory gives no direct answer to how the two processes relate, whether they conflict or coexist, yet we

might be able to infer some of it if we consider the nature of the two processes. First of all, we might say that the communication process is based on a notion of word to world fit, i.e. the aim of communication is to describe what was (if for a moment we set aside the obvious and important aim of communication of making and maintaining social relations). Directives, on the other hand, are based on a notion of world to word fit, i.e. the aim is not to describe what was, but to change what is or to prescribe what should be. This makes directives different from 'standard' communication.

Following this line of thought, the process of communication is relative to language, because it uses language as a means to represent or describe reality, and this reality may be said to exist in not just one but three modalities. Languages, according to Durst-Andersen (2011a, pp.155-156), must take their starting point in one of these modalities (and not all at the same time) otherwise communication would be quite confusing. Since the starting point of communication, or rather the common meeting point for speaker and hearer, differs between languages, so does the rest of the communication process. In other words, though an utterance is always both a model of a situation in reality, a symptom of the speaker's experience of it and a signal to the hearer, and although comprehension involves getting to all of this, how this is done depends on language. Some languages take their starting point in reality, their grammar acting as a model of the situation in reality, hence the name reality-oriented languages, others take their starting point in the speaker's experience of it, their grammar acting as a symptom of that experience, and others again in the information to the hearer, their grammar serving as a signal to the hearer.

Directives, although they still use language, they use it not to describe a situation in reality, but rather to prescribe the situation in reality as it should be. Accordingly, the overall process of directives is universal in that its starting point is universal. A directive will always stem from a desire with the speaker, i.e. be a symptom of her experience, which is then framed into a signal to the hearer to act and then anchored as a model to the hearer of how to act. In that sense directives have more in common with non-verbal communication than standard verbal communication (Durst-Andersen, 2016a). In other words, the process of communication and process of directives do not directly conflict, they just relate differently to the representation of reality.

Second, the two processes are related but different in how they envision the relationship between speaker and hearer. The communication process, although mainly focused on the speaker, makes

room for the hearer in the process of anchoring. Comprehension, accordingly, is a matter of the hearer forming her own intake by recreating in her own mind the journey made by the speaker only in the opposite order. This is what makes speaker and hearer meet for the second time and what makes communication possible. Note that although the comprehension to some extent may be said to mirror production, the result of course will never be completely the same as the production takes place in the mind of the speaker and comprehension in the mind of the hearer. The process for directives and its elements satisfaction conditions and obedience conditions are focused solely on the speaker and the production of directives, meaning there is little or no mention of the role of comprehension. The different sentence forms represent the speaker's different strategies for solving a problem through the direction of the hearer. The imperative is the speaker's non-negotiable solution to a problem, the declarative is the speaker's proposal to a solution to the problem, and the interrogative is the speaker's open proposal to a solution to the problem. These different strategies must build on an implicit assumption that the hearer will recognise them for what they are (a solution, a proposal or an open proposal) otherwise the speaker would have little point in employing them. We could therefore assume that the comprehension of directives would follow the same logic as the comprehension of communication in general, i.e. that it, at least to some extent, mirrors the process of production. Just as the production of directives is a layered process, so would the comprehension of them be, meaning that the hearer would have to understand the directives as not only a model of how to act, but also as a signal to act at all and as a symptom of the speaker's desire.

#### *9.2.2.2. The process across different languages*

Yet the question still remains of how exactly the two processes interact when it comes to comprehension and the question of being relative to language or universal. For the native speakers of English, the universal process of directives is very similar to the language-dependent communication process for hearer-oriented languages, i.e. naming is a symptom of the speaker's experience (experience), framing is a signal to the hearer (information) and anchoring is a model of a situation in reality (model). When paraphrasing the answers of the native speakers into a prototypical comprehension, I assumed that they understood the text as a directive and that they therefore also understood it both as a model of how to act (i.e. what to do), as a signal to act at all (i.e. that they understood that it was in fact a directive of some sort) and as a symptom of the speaker's experience (i.e. as having origin somewhere in the speaker's mental universe). But I

was interested in seeing and trying to express which linguistic elements they might understand as being Satisfaction Conditions and which Obedience Conditions.

In terms of relating this to the comprehension of the non-native speakers, the question of universal vs relative is naturally more pressing since the communication processes of the non-native speakers are quite different in composition to that of the process for directives. For the Russian speakers of English, the communication process of reality-oriented languages means naming does not relate to the speaker's experience, but rather to information, framing does not involve information but instead relates to the situation in reality and anchoring is not related to the situation but focuses on finding the speaker's experience of it. For the Chinese and Japanese speakers of English, the communication process of speaker-oriented languages means that naming relates to the situation in reality as opposed to the speaker's experience of it, framing instead focuses on the speaker's experience but not on information to the hearer, and anchoring involves information to the hearer, but does not relate to the situation in reality. If the answers of the non-native speakers were completely similar to those of the native speakers, then it would be a strong indication that, when it comes to directives, both the process of production and the process of comprehension are universal, but I would still not be able to say, then, how the two processes interact. If, however, the answers from the non-native speakers reflected a different comprehension than the prototypical comprehension of the native speakers, I might be able to say something about how the two processes interact by looking at where the differences in comprehension occur.

## 9.3. Analysing the text with *perhaps include*

In the first of the texts that the participants come across, the linguistic formulation of the (possible) request is a hedged imperative. According to Brown & Levinson (1987), the imperative itself would be doing the (supposedly) Face Threatening Act on record and baldly, i.e. their first and hence least polite strategy. However, as the formulation includes the hedging *perhaps*, we would more likely be dealing with a slight redressive action through negative politeness. However, as discussed in Chapter 6, the idea that the imperative in itself is less polite because of its directness or lack of redressive measures has been heavily criticised from many angles (and languages). It is therefore particularly interesting to see how it is comprehended by the participants (native speakers and non-native speakers both) in terms of politeness, but also in terms of the intention they ascribe to it and how they respond to it in terms of their willingness to change.

### 9.3.1. The native speakers of English

If we look at the Politeness Evaluation for the native speakers of English, two things are worth noticing. First of all, although we do see a majority for neutral in terms of politeness (see figure 13 below), it is not a convincing majority. In fact, it is only just above half. And second of all, the rest of the participants divide almost equally between polite and rude, albeit with slightly more for polite than for rude.

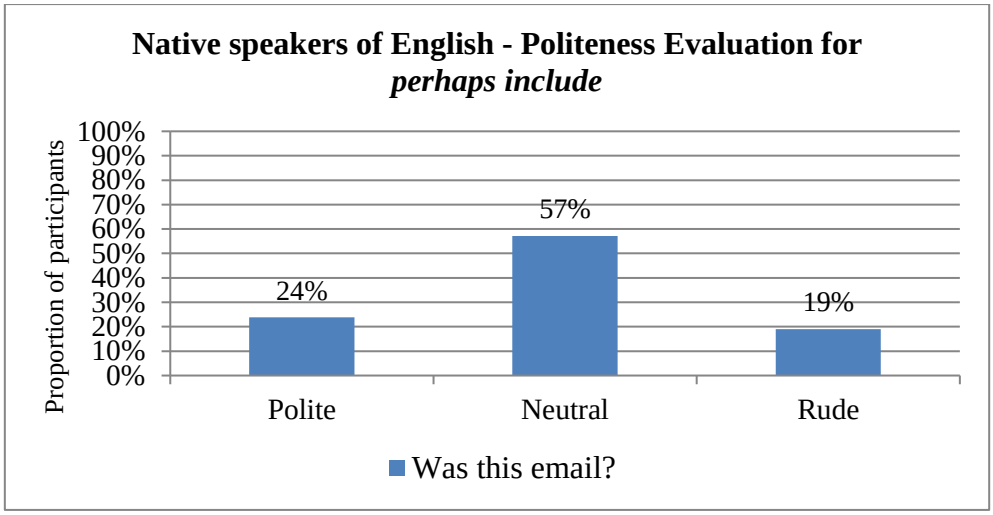


*Figure 13 Overview of the politeness evaluation of 'perhaps include' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

These two things combined are interesting, because they suggest that for the native speakers the Politeness Evaluation is more of an individual, context-based choice rather than a grammatical distinction tied to the linguistic formulation of the (possible) request. If the Politeness Evaluation were a mere grammatical distinction based on the linguistic formulation, then we should expect to see a much greater majority forming, and we would not expect to find a rather large number of the participants in opposing positions, i.e. divided between polite and rude.

To get a better idea of why then the text may be evaluated as both neutral, polite and rude in terms of politeness, it may be helpful to take a closer look at the native speakers' interpretation of the Intention.

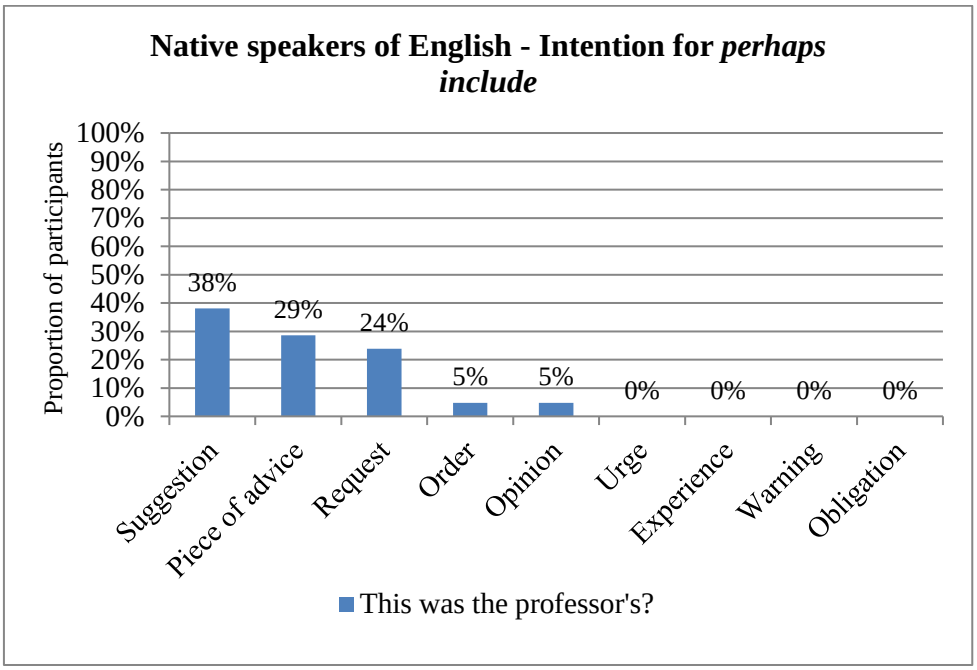


*Figure 14 Overview of the interpretation of Intention of 'perhaps include' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

As can be seen from figure 14 above, the native speakers of English have no uniform interpretation of the Intention behind the text. There is no real majority, but they do seem to group around mainly three Intentions with 38% in favour of Suggestion followed by Piece of Advice with 29% and then Request with 24 %. Order and Opinion are selected by a single participant each and what the combination of answers into complete utterances shows is that both of these find the text to be rude. Interestingly, Request is the only selected Intention that is not combined with rude. A Suggestion may be rude, a Piece of Advice may be rude, and both Order and Opinion were rude, but Request is not. It is just neutral or in fact even polite for one of the participants. Why is this? If a Request were to imply a greater threat to the hearer's negative face because it supposes a stronger imposition on the hearer than Suggestion or Piece of Advice as suggested by Brown & Levinson, then depending of course on the interpretation of the social variables power and social distance we would expect a need for more negative politeness than a simple hedged imperative to avoid being impolite, but this does not seem to be the case here.

Suggestion and Piece of Advice are similar in the sense that they are both based on the speaker having some sort of input to the hearer's possible doing or not doing something which the speaker finds would be relevant for the hearer to consider in relation to the hearer's deciding on doing or not doing that something. They are, however, also different in the sense that Suggestion puts less

emphasis on subsequent changes than Piece of Advice does. In her semantic dictionary of speech act verbs Wierzbicka (1987) places the verbs Advise and Suggest in the same group and notes on Advise that "*I imagine by saying this I can cause you to do it*" (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 181), whereas she notes for Suggest that "*I don't know if you will do it*" (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 187). As for Request, which is in a group of its own, the emphasis on the subsequent changes is even stronger in the sense that the speaker expects the hearer to carry out the changes: "*I assume that X will cause Y to happen*" (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 51). In other words, a Request would imply greater expectations of action from the hearer than Piece of Advice and Suggest. When we consider the Willingness to Change by the native speakers, however, it is quite clear that almost all of the participants, regardless of which Intention they interpreted or how they evaluated the text in terms of politeness, would indeed carry out the subsequent changes, as can be seen from Figure 15 below.

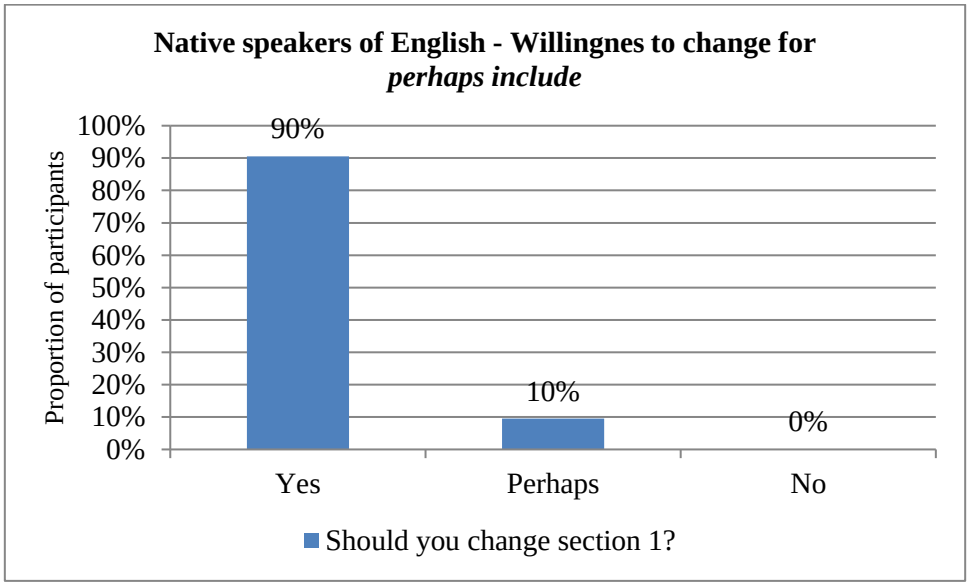


*Figure 15 Overview of the willingness to change of 'perhaps include' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

It does deserve to be mentioned, however, that the combination of answers into complete sentences show that the two selections of Perhaps Change are in fact found in combination with Suggestion. In this case then the notion based on Wierzbicka that a Suggestion may be less strong than a Piece of Advice and Request is supported. However, for the vast majority of the native speakers of English, there seemed to be no difference regarding the willingness to change

compared to whether they interpreted the main intention of the text as a Suggestion, Piece of Advice or Request or considered it polite, neutral or rude.

If we are to briefly sum up the discussion of the native speakers' comprehension until now, what we are able to see from all of this is the fact that the hedging *perhaps* clearly does not seem to be comprehended as relating to the action to be carried out following the request, but it might explain why the text was interpreted as a Suggestion and Piece of Advice. We may also conclude that in terms of politeness, a small majority favoured neutral, but selections of polite and rude were also present. It will be interesting to see if this pattern continues in the following texts, but it does indicate that the linguistic formulation with the hedged imperative is not inherently polite, neutral or rude, but may in fact depend on the overall interpretation of text and context.

#### *9.3.1.1. Paraphrasing the native speakers' comprehension of the text*

Perhaps the easiest way to sum up the somewhat mosaic picture of the native speakers' comprehension of the text with hedged imperative is through paraphrasing following the understanding of comprehension as well as directives. As mentioned, the imperative is the speaker's straightforward, non-negotiable solution to a problem (experienced by the speaker). The imperative is on its own both a symptom of the speaker's experience, a signal to the hearer to do something and an exact model of what it is that the hearer needs to do. The paraphrase thus reads *it was alright but I hereby say: you include more details*. But where does that leave the hedging *perhaps* in the *perhaps include*? What exactly is its function here?

First we might consider if *perhaps* could be comprehended as part of the model. If *perhaps* is a way for the speaker to guide the hearer i.e. that *perhaps* functions as a form of Obedience Condition. The Obedience Conditions are the speaker's way of adding extra power to the request, that something extra, be it positive in form of a compensation or negative in form of a Sanction (or Warning), which she believes will guide the hearer to comply. As with the other five texts, *perhaps include more details* is preceded by the phrase: *it was alright but* and especially the *but* is interesting in this connection. The sentence before *but* clearly states that the paper, which the student has sent the professor, is in fact alright. However, *but* indicates a contrast, which the proceeding sentence, i.e. the altering linguistic formulations of the request, then elaborates on. This contrast will of course be a contrast, but it may take both a negative and a positive form. In its positive form, it indicates that including details could improve an already acceptable text. In

its negative form it indicates a defective state which in fact needs extra details to be alright. In relation to the hedged imperative you could argue that *but* indicates a positive contrast, i.e. including more details will improve an already acceptable paper. In that sense, *perhaps* might serve as a form of Compensation. The question is if this fully captures the function of *perhaps* in this text. If *perhaps* were comprehended as a form of Compensation, the paraphrase would read *it is alright, but I hereby say: you include more details. If you do so the paper will perhaps be better*. Yet, the question still remains of how or why *perhaps* is able to function as a form of Compensation in combination with the contrast indicated by *but*.

We might therefore consider if *perhaps* could be part of the Satisfaction Conditions, but this would make little sense. The Satisfaction Conditions are the hearer's conditions so to speak, they must remove whatever obstacle is keeping the hearer from carrying out the action(s) desired by the speaker. There is little if anything in the participants' comprehension of the text that indicate that *perhaps* could remove the obstacle that keeps the hearer from complying with the speaker's request. On the contrary the imperative does this on its own. If *perhaps* was attached to the imperative in this sense, then the paraphrasing would read: *I hereby say: you perhaps include*, in which case the action indicated by the imperative would actually be softened. But this does not reflect the comprehension of the native speakers. If this were the case, then we would not expect to see a majority in favour of Change in regard to the Willingness to change. In other words, *perhaps* cannot be connected to the imperative alone but must be associated with something more.

If *perhaps* was part of the speaker's naming of the solution to the problem, then it would function as a sentence adverbial and the paraphrase would be: *I hereby perhaps say: you include more details*, which would mean that *perhaps* would affect both the speaker's Intention and the hearer's Willingness to Change. In terms of Intention, this was interpreted as mainly a Suggestion, Piece of Advice or Request in which case you could argue that especially Suggestion and Piece of Advice could be brought on by *perhaps* functioning as a sentence adverbial. Yet as mentioned the native speakers' Willingness to Change was clearly in favour of yes to changes, which seems to argue against a comprehension of *perhaps* as affecting the entire sentence. So what then might it be? It would seem that *perhaps* is an index pointing to something else, something at a higher level than even sentence level.

Following Brown & Levinson's thinking *perhaps* would serve as a mitigating device to minimize the threat to the hearer's negative face. In other words, it would constitute negative politeness, i.e. be a strategy from the speaker to soften, so to speak, the imposition that the imperative would otherwise make on the hearer. However, the text is not evaluated as particularly polite by the native speakers; rather it shows a majority for a neutral evaluation. You could of course argue along the lines of Watts (2005 [1992]) that instead of politeness we should consider this a (linguistic) act of politic behaviour following Watts' terminology. In other words, rather than being comprehended as explicitly polite, the text is simply neutral or adequate/appropriate in the given context and this could very well be because of the hedging in *perhaps*. Still, simply saying that *perhaps* is mitigating the imposition and thus making the text seem polite or just appropriate to the hearer, does not explain exactly how or why *perhaps* is able to do so. If we take Durst-Andersen's (2011a) notion of language as a system of signs seriously it means that everything stands for something, points to something. We should thus look for what it is that *perhaps* points to.

If *perhaps* is not directly part of the request itself, not the satisfaction conditions pertaining to it, nor the obedience conditions, it must come from or point to an even higher level. It might therefore be useful to look at naming from the communication process, i.e. to look at the speaker's input structure, which is composed of the four discourse worlds or mental states: Experiences, Knowledge, Beliefs and Opinions (see Durst-Andersen, 2011a, p. 300). The use of *perhaps* could be seen as a marker of the discourse world forming the input for the speaker, i.e. the world of beliefs. As part of the speaker's naming process not from the point of view of the universal process for directives, but from the point of view of the specific communication process for a hearer-oriented language such as English, *perhaps* demonstrates that this is the speaker's best bid for a non-negotiable solution to the problem after having evaluated everything and by doing this it also indicates that there is room for another bid from another person, so to speak. This might explain why a majority of the English participants consider the Intention behind to be a Suggestion or Piece of Advice. In other words, this is the given solution according to the speaker, but there may be other solutions as well, and the fact that it leaves the door open for the hearer in this way is what makes it possible to interpret as polite or less invasive perhaps than the naked imperative.

Understanding *perhaps* as an expression of the speaker's input from the communication process, i.e. as stemming from her world of beliefs, may also explain why *perhaps* in connection with the

contrast indicated by *but* could to some extent be comprehended as a form of Compensation as well. *But*, then, indicates a contrast between worlds, a contrast between the real world, which is the speaker's reading of the paper, and an alternative world, in which the speaker gives her best bid to a solution of what may be a problem. Summing up, p*erhaps* in this connection serves as the speaker's best bid to the solution to the problem. The prototypical paraphrase would therefore read: *It is alright.* ***In an alternative world*** *(=but) I give my best bid to a solution to what* ***may be*** *(=perhaps) a problem and hereby say: you include more details*. The native speakers' comprehension (mainly Neutral, mainly Suggestion or Piece of Advice, mainly Change) suggests that the combination of *but* and *perhaps* points to the speaker's input in the communication process specific to English as a hearer-oriented language. This indicates that the language specific communication process might underlie the more general and universal process for directives, which on its own is interesting, but even more so when we move to an intercultural setting. Will this interfere with the non-native speakers' comprehension of the text considering that their starting point for the communication process in their mother tongue is different than that of English, or are they able to take on the communication process of the English language?

### 9.3.2. The non-native speakers of English

For the non-native speakers of English, the first observation that should be made is that much like the native speakers, they spread out a lot, especially in terms of Intention, but also in terms of Politeness Evaluation and more interestingly in relation to Willingness to Change.

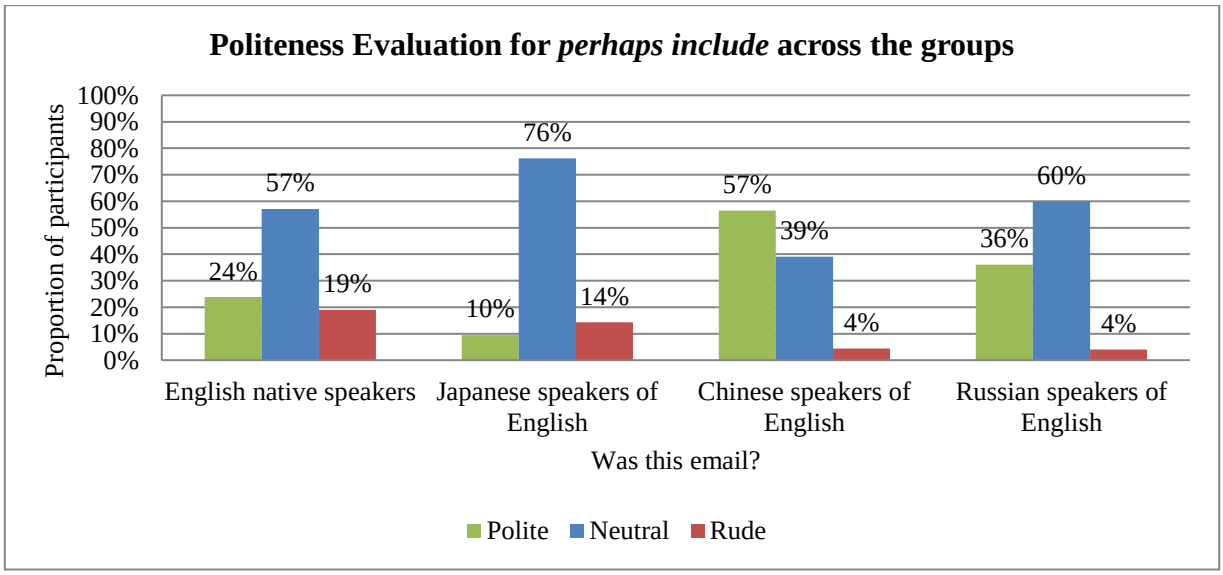


*Figure 16 Overview of the Politeness Evaluation for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The Politeness Evaluation for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

In terms of Politeness Evaluation (see figure 16 above), the softened imperative *perhaps include* is clearly neutral for the Japanese speakers of English, with 76% they form the largest majority of all groups, including the native speakers of English. For the Russian speakers of English, it is also mainly neutral, but we also see a rather large group favouring a polite reading. For the Chinese speakers of English, however, the text is mainly polite albeit only with a small majority, the rest mainly finds it to be neutral. It is worth mentioning that for all groups a few participants find the text to be rude. For the Russian and the Chinese speakers of English, this is the case for only a single participant, but whereas the Russian participant (RUS2) finds only this text to be rude (and finds the remaining five to be either neutral or polite), the Chinese participants (PRC1) actually finds that four of the six texts are in fact rude, only *I would probably include* and *why don't you include* are interpreted as neutral. Of the three Japanese speakers who find it to be rude, two (JPN19 and JPN23) make this selection for this text only and interpret the rests as either polite or neutral, but one (JPN10) also finds *you should include* and *couldn't you include* to be rude. In other words, it seems that for the Russian and the Japanese participants it is the specific linguistic formulation of this text, which makes it rude (since the rest are not considered to be rude), whereas for the Chinese participant the entire context around the text seems to influence the politeness evaluation (as most of the other texts are also found to be rude).

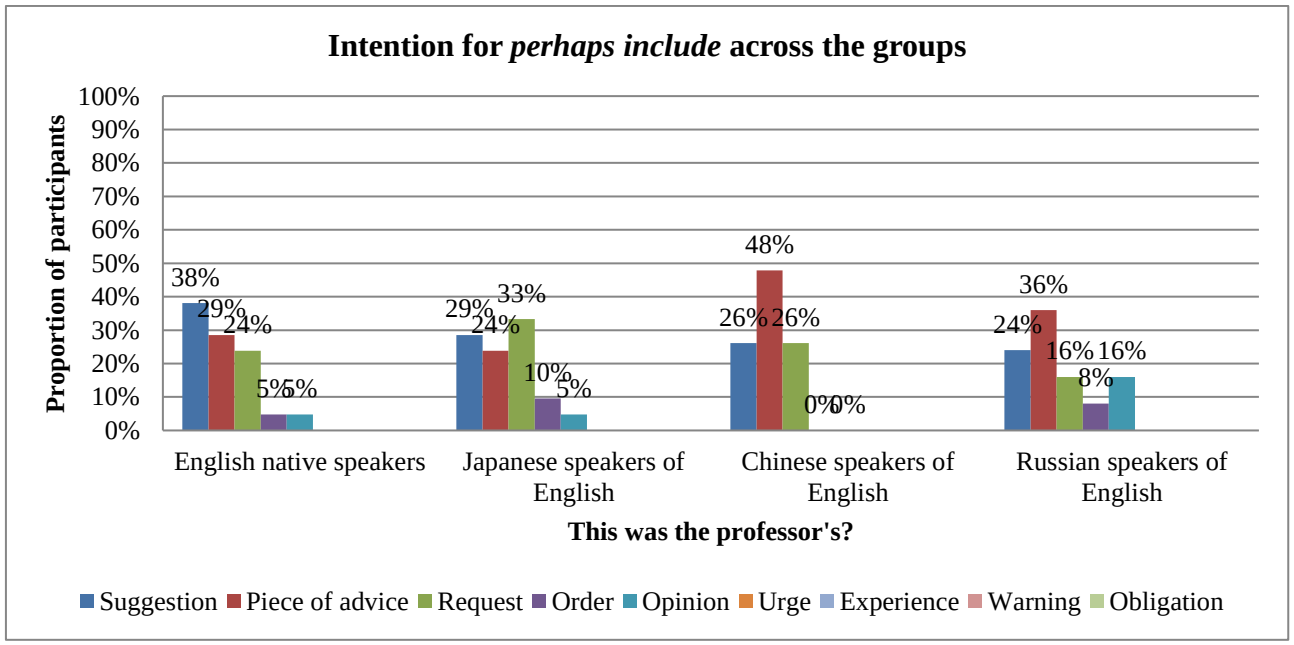


*Figure 17 Overview of the interpretation of Intention for 'perhaps include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The interpretation of Intention for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting*

*a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

Looking at the Intention for the non-native speakers in comparison with the native speakers (see figure 17 above), a few things deserve to be mentioned. First of all, it is quite interesting that all the groups, including the native speakers, favour the same three Intentions, i.e. Suggestion, Piece of Advice and Request, but not in the same order so the speak. For the Japanese speakers of English the distribution is quite close, however with Request first (33%), Suggestion second (29%) and Piece of Advice third (24%). For the Chinese speakers of English, the distribution is much more strongly centred around Piece of Advice with almost half of the participants (48/%) choosing this, the remaining participants divide equally between Suggestion and Request (26% for each). The Russian speakers of English stand out a little bit in the sense that they actually spread out over mainly four Intentions, favouring first Piece of Advice (36%), then Suggestion (24%) and finally divide equally between Request and Opinion (16% each). As we saw with the native speakers of English, both the Japanese and the Russian speakers of English also have a few selections of other Intentions, but the Chinese participants are grouped into three Intentions only.

In other words, regarding the interpretation of Intention, it would seem that the participants are quite similar when it comes to the comprehension of the imperative regardless of linguistic background. They are similar in the sense that they are just as different amongst themselves as they are across. However, they differ from each other in the priority or weight they give to the same Intentions. Where the native speakers favoured Suggestion, the Japanese speakers of English favoured Request and the Chinese and the Russian speakers of English both favoured Piece of Advice, albeit it the Chinese speakers of English to a larger degree.

Moving on to the Willingness to Change, this is noticeably different between native-speakers and non-native speakers as seen from figure 18 below.

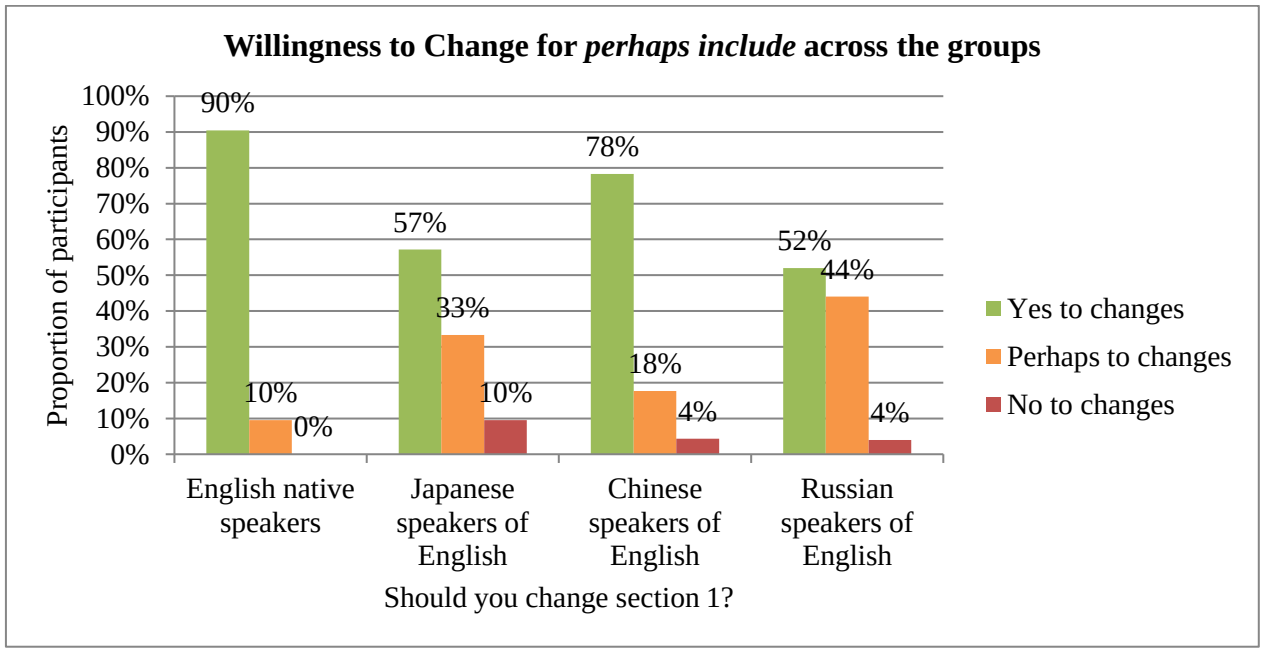


*Figure 18 Overview of the Willingness to Change for 'perhaps include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The Willingness to Change for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

Keeping in mind that the native speakers, regardless of their selections of Politeness Evaluation and Intention almost all chose Change, it is interesting that the non-native speakers are far less willing to do so. Especially the Russian speakers of English stand out with just under half of the participants choosing Perhaps Change and a single of them even no to changes. For the Japanese speakers of English, a third of the participants selected Perhaps Change and 10% even selected Don't Change. Out of the non-native speakers, the Chinese participants are clearly most aligned with the native speakers in terms of Willingness to Change, but even a fifth of them selected Perhaps Change. If we look at the two selections of Don't Change made by the Japanese speakers of English, then it should be noted that one participant (JPN1) makes this selection for all texts, but the other participant (JPN24) makes it for this text only, suggesting that it could either be a mistake or that the formulation in fact was interpreted this way. Interestingly, both participants found the text to be a Request, either polite or neutral, and this makes the Japanese speakers of English the only group to combine Request as Intention with Don't Change. For all other groups Request in this case is combined with Change. For the Russian speakers of English, the selections of Perhaps Change seem to combine equally frequent with all the selected Intentions except, however, for Request and Order, where the former as mentioned combines only with Change and the latter interestingly is combined both with Change and Don't Change.

### 9.3.3. Summing up on *perhaps include* – Relating the non-native speakers' comprehension to the paraphrased comprehension of the native speakers

To briefly sum up on the comprehension of the text with *perhaps include*, the following conclusions can be made. First of all, for all groups, both native speakers and non-native speakers, the comprehension of *perhaps include* seems to be based on an individual interpretation of both the linguistic formulation, the hedged imperative, as well as the context around it. There is no complete agreement at any point, but we do get close to it in the Willingness to Change for the native speakers of English. Especially in the interpretation of Intention the participants spread out a lot, interestingly though we find the largest grouping with the Chinese speakers of English. Secondly, the data showed that both the native speakers as well as the non-native speakers of English grouped around the same three Intentions, but also that they did so in a different order. Where the native speakers mostly favoured Suggestion, the Japanese speakers preferred Request and the Chinese and the Russian speakers of English opted for Piece of Advice. Thirdly, the greatest difference between the groups seemed to be in the Willingness to Change, where the native speakers, as mentioned, almost completely agreed to Change, whereas the non-native speakers, especially the Russian and to some extent also the Japanese speakers of English were more inclined to Perhaps Change.

Comparing the paraphrased comprehension of the native speakers to the comprehension of the non-native speakers, especially the Russian speakers of English but also to some extent the Japanese speakers of English stood out in their comprehension. Their answers in relation to Willingness to Change indicate that they take the *perhaps* in the hedged imperative much more literally than the native speakers. For the native speakers of English, the *perhaps* was an indication of which of the speaker's four discourse worlds was the source of the utterance, namely the world of beliefs. In other words, *perhaps* communicated best bid to a given solution. This is why the native speakers did not comprehend *perhaps* as having any impact on their Willingness to Change and also why *perhaps* can be said to function as a token of politeness or politic behaviour: by communicating that this stems from the speaker's world of beliefs and is her best bid for a given solution *perhaps* also leaves room for another solution which could be equally well.

The question therefore arises of what might explain this more literal and purely syntactically based comprehension of *perhaps* by some of the Russian and Japanese speakers of English. Looking at the sentence form alone, Durst-Andersen's approach to directives laid out in Chapter 5 argues that

the imperative is the speaker's non-negotiable solution to the problem. As a speaker strategy, this would be universal and independent of language, yet as it is still comprehended differently by (some) non-native speakers it seems that something is nonetheless affecting this. As opposed to the native speakers and the Chinese speakers of English, it would seem that the Russian and Japanese speakers of English who selected Perhaps Change comprehended the *perhaps* as directly modifying the imperative, i.e. as being part of both the request itself as well as the Satisfaction Conditions. In that sense, the copy that the imperative shows the hearer is not *in an alternative world I give my best bid to a solution to what may be problem and hereby say: you include more details*, as was the case with the native speakers, but rather: *I hereby say: you perhaps include changes, it is for you to decide*. In that sense the signal to the hearer is to act according to this model. Following this interpretation, the 'correct' action to follow for the hearer would then in fact be Perhaps Change and not Change.

However, keeping in mind that both the Russian as well as the Japanese participants who selected Perhaps Change combined it with Suggestion or Piece of Advice and not Request as the interpreted intention, one could also argue that *perhaps* could be seen not as modifying the imperative directly by describing the course of action for the hearer to take, but rather as affecting the entire sentence, i.e. as a form of sentence adverbial. In that case the paraphrase would read *I hereby perhaps say: you include more details*. Thus, we might explain why it is possible for both the Russian and the Japanese speakers of English to combine Suggestion and Piece of Advice with either Perhaps Change or Change: *perhaps* is seen as a symptom of the speaker's experience of the solution to the problem, indicating that subsequent changes are possible (Change) but not necessarily mandatory (Perhaps Change).

In other words, for a great deal of the Russian and Japanese speakers of English, the difference in comprehension suggests that they do not reach a full understanding when compared to the native speakers of English. You might say that they reach the first and physical meeting point and comprehend the meaning of the word and the sentence, but they do not reach the second and mental point of contact and understand the meaning behind the words and the utterance. Or perhaps, the right way to put this is not that they do not reach a full understanding, it is just that their full understanding, i.e. both the physical and mental meeting point, is different from that of the native speakers. The question then arises if this difference in comprehension could relate to the possible influence of the mother tongue in the non-native speaker's comprehension of the

English text. At least it seems reasonable to conclude that they do not reach the same full understanding and this may in fact be because they do not share the underlying communication process, which in its rich elaboration of naming was shown to influence the native speakers' comprehension of the directive.

## 9.4. Analysing the text with *you should include*

In the second text that the participants come across in the category Form of Approaching the hearer, the linguistic formulation of the possible request is the second person modal verb construction *you should include*. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the declarative sentence form represents a negotiation of a contract, more open than the direct contract offered by the imperative, but more closed than the open negotiation presented by the interrogative.

### 9.4.1. The native speakers of English

An important observation about the selections of the native speakers of English for this text needs to be made before I shall enter into the actual discussion of the data. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, a few of the participants keep their selections the same throughout all texts regardless of the variation in linguistic formulation. For the native speakers of English, especially for the first two texts (and for some also the third text), a majority of the participants actually make the same selection. The native speakers were very quick to complete the GEBCom reception Test in comparison with the non-native speakers, and although they were informed in the written instructions that preceded the test that they would come across texts that seem similar but in fact were different, it is possible that they simply read the second text through very quickly and thought the two texts were the same and thus gave the same answer. It is of course also possible that they simply comprehended the two texts the same way in relation to Politeness Evaluation, Intention and Willingness to Change. The fact is that I do not know this. A simple way to have avoided this would have been to distribute the test in a way that secured that half participants took it with the texts in one order and the remaining half with the texts in the opposite order. Unfortunately, this came to my attention too late in the data collection process to employ it. For the non-native speakers of English, this is only the case for a few of the participants.

For a small majority of the native speakers of English *you should include* is Neutral, whereas the rest divide equally between Polite and Rude as seen from figure 19 below. This means that even for the native speakers of English, the same text can be understood as polite by some and rude by

others (though a majority of people are most likely to find it neutral). Though the use of declaratives (instead of an imperative) is also considered a linguistic means to dampen the FTA according to Brown & Levinson (1987), you could argue that the use of the second person pronoun in fact increases the face threat as it in a sense highlights the hearer's responsibility.

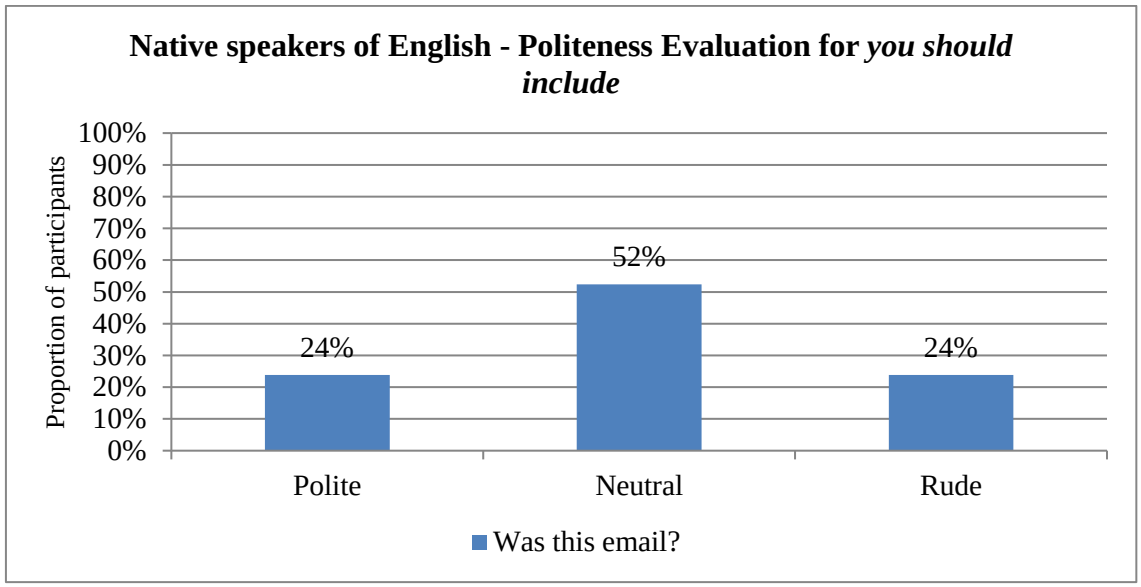


*Figure 19 Overview of the Politeness Evaluation of 'you should include' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

Just as with *perhaps include*, the most selected intentions are Suggestion, followed by Piece of Advice and Request (see figure 20 below) and as with *perhaps include* all three intentions combine with both Polite, Neutral and Rude in terms of Politeness Evaluation. As mentioned, a majority of the participants make the exact same selection that they made for *perhaps include*, but this is mainly the case for the participants that selected Suggestion in *perhaps include*. Of these nearly all make the exact same selection in this text. But for the other participants, i.e. those that selected Piece of Advice, Request or Order or Urge, they have changed much more, both amongst them and some to Suggestion.

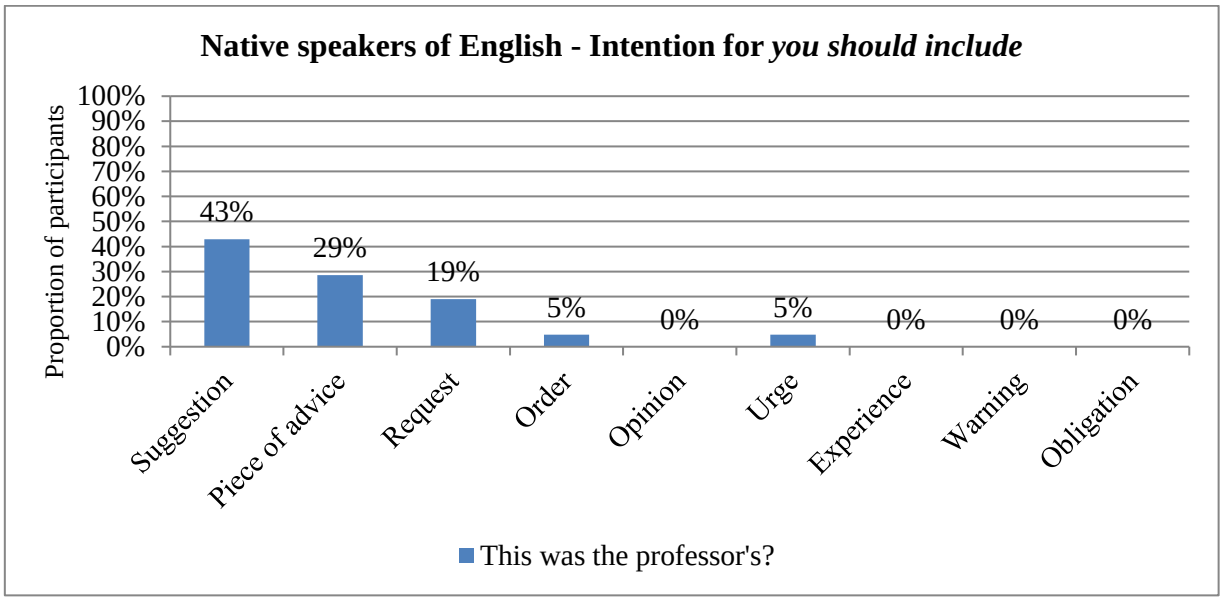


*Figure 20 Overview of the interpretation of Intention of 'you should include' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

From figure 21 below we see a small decline in the selections of Change for Willingness to Change, but a very large majority of the native speakers of English would still make the changes regardless of how they evaluate the text in terms of politeness or which Intention they interpret behind it.

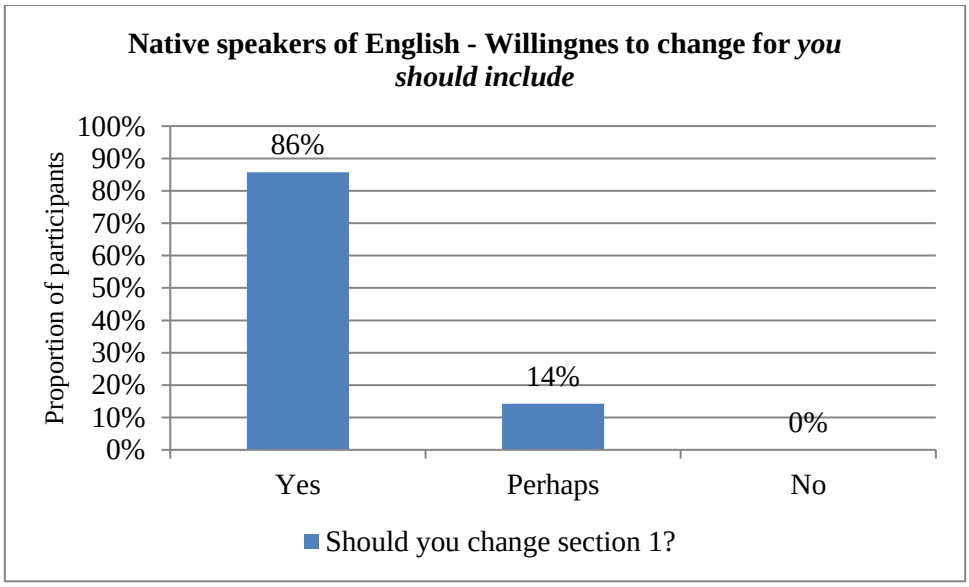


*Figure 21 Overview of the Willingness to Change of 'you should include' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

Summing up, the native speakers' selections for *you should include* are very similar to their selection for *perhaps include*, both in terms of Politeness Evaluation, Intention and Willingness to Change. Though this might be caused by the problem mentioned earlier, there is also the chance that they simply comprehend the two texts along the same lines.

#### *9.4.1.1. Paraphrasing the native speakers' comprehension of the text*

This text is the first text that the participants come across which is formulated as a declarative. As mentioned, the native speakers' comprehension for this text is very similar to the previous text with the hedged imperative. This is interesting since the linguistic formulation of it is quite different to the imperative. As mentioned, the declarative sentence form is the speaker's strategy when she considers the solution to lie with the speaker (as opposed to with the situation as the imperative, or with the hearer as with the interrogative). In other words, whereas the imperative sentence form presented the hearer with a contract already signed by the speaker and simply awaiting the hearer's approval and execution, the declarative sentence form represents a negotiation of a contract. This negotiation is more closed as opposed to the more open negotiation represented by the interrogative. In fact, the declarative may be seen as the speaker's proposal to a solution to a problem. Specific to this text is the fact that the linguistic focus is on the hearer and her future action.

To paraphrase the comprehension of *you should include* as mainly neutral, mainly Suggestion or Piece of Advice and mainly with Yes to Changed, we might first consider the modal verb *should*. *should* as a modal verb is interesting because it may indicate obligation, but may also be used to give advice or suggestions or express an expected or desirable state (Should, n.d.). From the selections of Intention, it would seem that the majority of the native speakers in this connection comprehend it as exactly the giving of a piece of advice or a suggestion. But again we must ask, why is this? What is it about *should* that allows for this interpretation? We might first consider if *should* could be comprehended as part of the Obedience Conditions, i.e. if the participants comprehend it as part of the speaker's anchoring of the proposal to a solution. If we look at the immediate linguistic context, it reads: *it was alright but you should include more details in section 1*. As with the hedged imperative, *but* indicates a contrast between *it is alright* and *you should include*, and this contrast may be interpreted negatively as indicating a defective state or positively as indicating an add on which would improve an already good text. *You should* as a version of *you shall* could be interpreted as the speaker's attempt to coerce the hearer into performing the

desired action, i.e. as a sort of Sanction, but the answers of the native speakers do not seem to reflect this. If so, we would have expected them to select perhaps Order, Obligation or perhaps even Request, but they do not. They still favour Suggestion and Piece of Advice, meaning that the contrast indicated by *but* was comprehended as a form of Compensation, an extra add-on.

What then separates the text with the hedged imperative from this one with a second person modal verb? In the hedged imperative text, the combination of *but* and *perhaps* was an indication of the speaker's input from the communication process, which was her best bid to a solution to what may be a problem in an alternative world. This was grounded in her world of beliefs, in other words an epistemic marker. In this text, however, *but* and *should* seem to instead form a set of positive Obedience Conditions, i.e. a Compensation. As Durst-Andersen (2011a, pp. 123 ff.) notes, the Obedience Conditions entail an implicit conditional statement of the type if (not)…, then. In this case, the Compensation that *but you should include* indicates would be something along the lines of *if you do it, you do right (according to me)*. In other words, the Compensation builds on an evaluation from the speaker which means that *but you should include* is not founded in the speaker's world of beliefs but rather in her world of opinions.

From such a comprehension of the Compensation, the hearer would also understand that the speaker finds that she is capable of doing this, in other words the Satisfaction Conditions from the process of framing in the Pragmatic Wheel would be something along the lines of *you can include*, but the hearer will also understand that this must mean that the speaker finds that she is in fact willing to do it, i.e. *you will include*. This means that the paraphrasing of the entire process according to the majority of the native speakers' comprehension would be: *naming: speaker accepts: you will include more details. Framing: speaker motivates hearer: you can include more details. Anchoring: speaker guides hearer: you should include more details*. In other words, the majority of the native speakers comprehend *but you should include* as a neutral Suggestion or Piece of Advice which requires changes, because they understand that *should* is a symptom of the speaker's world of opinions and that the speaker promises a compensation, i.e. a better paper, if the hearer complies. The prototypical paraphrasing would therefore be: *it is alright.* ***In an alternative world*** *where I know that you are willing to include more details and that you are able to include more details,* ***I state as my opinion****: you include more details.* ***If you do so, it will be better*** where *but* is included in the paraphrase as *in an alternative world*, and *should* is expressed as *I state as my opinion* in combination with the compensation *if you do so, it will be better*.

### 9.4.2. The non-native speakers of English

As for the non-native speakers, when we look at their politeness evaluation as illustrated in figure 22 below, both the Japanese and the Russian speakers of English are quite similar with this text to their selections in *perhaps include* in the sense that the Japanese speakers of English again show the largest majority for Neutral, even slightly larger than with *perhaps include*, as well as three selections of Rude, and the Russian speakers of English divide between Neutral and Polite with a small majority for Polite and a single selection for Rude. It should be mentioned that even though the number of selections of Rude is the same, it is not the same participants that find this text to be Rude as the previous, only one.

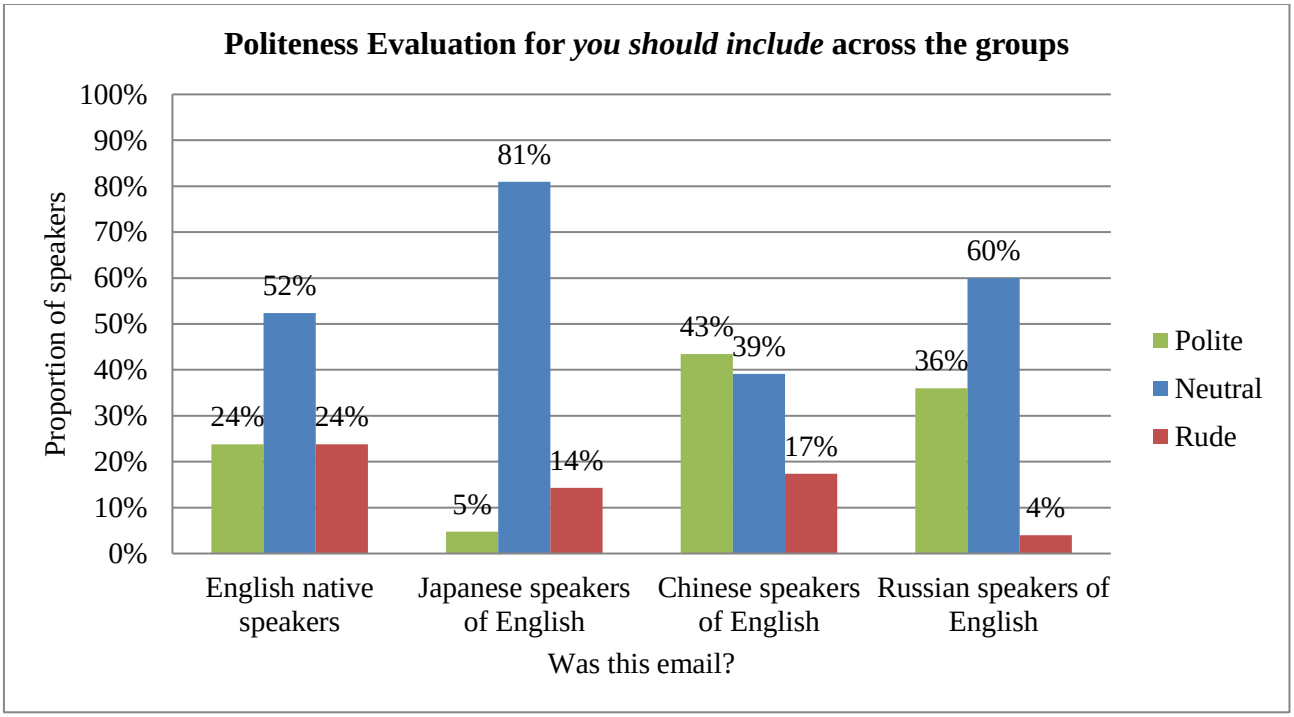


*Figure 22 Overview of the Politeness Evaluation for 'you should include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The Politeness Evaluation for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

The Chinese speakers of English have changed a bit compared to *perhaps include* in the sense that rather than being mainly Polite, Polite and Neutral now have almost the same amount of selections for this text and from only one participant with *perhaps include*, now four participants actually find the text with *you should include* to be rude. Though four participants are not a lot, they are still worth a brief note. Rude is chosen by PRC1, who made the exact same selections in text 4 (*this is a rude Piece of Advice and perhaps I should change section 1*), but also by PRC6,

PRC7 and PRC10 who all think that *this is a rude request and I should change section 1*. None of them found the softened imperative in text 4 to be rude or a request, but rather a polite suggestion (PRC7) or a neutral Piece of Advice (PRC6 and PRC10). This seems to indicate that at least for some of the Chinese participants, the second person modal verb construction is evaluated as less polite than the hedged imperative.

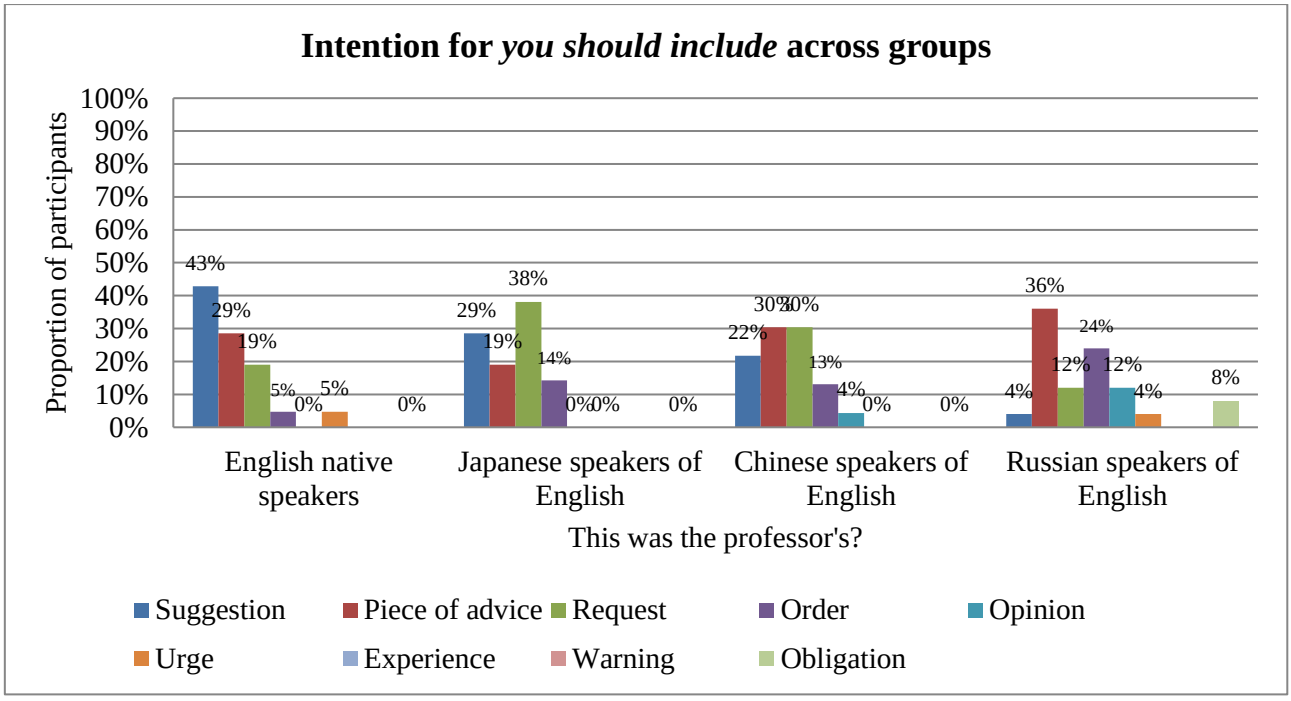


*Figure 23 Overview of the interpretation of Intention for 'you should include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The interpretation of Intention for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

If we consider their selections of Intention as seen from figure 23 above, the Japanese speakers of English still favour Request, in fact a bit more with *you should include* than with the previous *perhaps include*, followed by Suggestion and then Piece of Advice which has gone down a bit compared to *perhaps* include, and Order has also gone up a bit. This increase in selection of Order is also seen with the Chinese speakers of English and especially with the Russian speakers of English. Whereas the hedged imperative of the previous text made the Chinese participants centre mainly around Piece of Advice as the main Intention followed by Request and Suggestion, the second person modal verb construction makes them spread out more in terms of numbers. Piece of Advice and Request are selected equally followed by Suggestion and then as mentioned both Order and Opinion are selected. In terms of the interpretation of the Intention behind it would

seem that the modal *should* is less clear to the Chinese speakers of English than the hedged imperative.

For the Russian speakers of English, Piece of Advice is still the most selected Intention and around two thirds of the Russian participants who selected Piece of Advice for this text also selected it for the previous which could indicate that these participants assign more weight to the context than the actual linguistic formulation when they interpret the Intention behind. However, the rest of the selections for Intention have changed a lot compared to *perhaps include.* Request has dropped a lot and Suggestion has only a single selection for this text. Instead we see an increase in Order and Obligation suggesting that *you should include* is interpreted as stronger in terms of the Intention behind it, which is quite interesting to compare to how the Russian speakers of English then act in relation to the Willingness to Change as seen in figure 24 below.

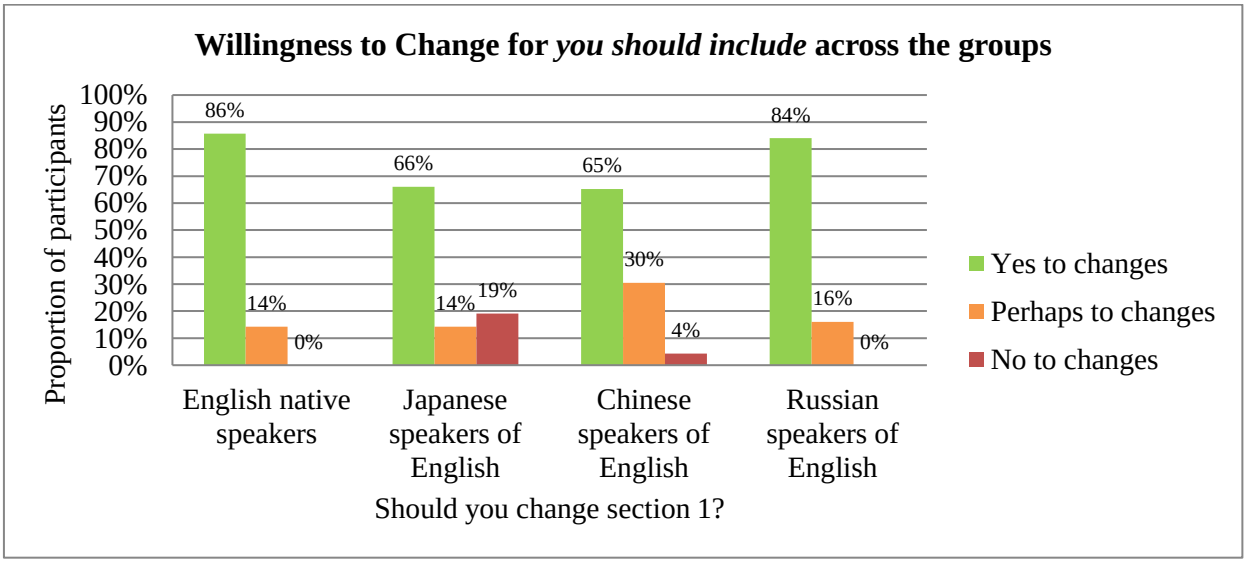


*Figure 24 Overview of the Willingness to Change for 'you should include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The Willingness to Change for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

In fact, looking at the Russian speakers of English, we notice a big change in the selection for Willingness to Change compared to the previous text with the *perhaps include* construction. Whereas almost half (44%) of the Russian speakers of English selected Perhaps Change for the hedged imperative, this has dropped to only 16% with the second person modal verb construction, and all participants who interpreted the Intention as an Order or an Obligation combined this with a positive Willingness to Change. Interestingly though, we still see some selections of Perhaps Change found mainly in combination with Piece of Advice but also in combination with Opinion.

For the two other groups of non-native speakers, the Japanese speakers of English and the Chinese speakers of English, the changes in selection for Willingness to Change are also quite interesting. Though the Japanese speakers of English have noticeably fewer selections of Perhaps Change compared to the previous text with the hedged imperative, the number of participants who selected Don't Change has actually increased a bit (from 10% to 18%). It is still not a lot of selections, but interestingly they occur both in connection with Request as the Intention (JPN1 and JPN18) and with Order (JPN14). This makes the Japanese speakers of English stand out from the other non-native speakers, who do not combine Request or Order with Don't Change. In contrast to the Russian speakers of English and the Japanese speakers of English, the Chinese speakers of English actually increase the number of participants who select Perhaps Change compared to the previous texts, from 18% to 30%. This might indicate that the *perhaps* in the previous text was not comprehended literally in relation to the Willingness to Change, but seen as modifying the Politeness Evaluation, making it less rude, as we saw with the native speakers of English.

### 9.4.3. Summing up on *you should include* – Relating the non-native speakers' comprehension to the paraphrased comprehension of the native speakers

To briefly sum up on the discussion of the analysis of the text with *you should include*, we may raise the following points. For both native and non-native speakers, there was no complete agreement at any point, suggesting that at least some part of the comprehension is based on individual factors, such as for instance the assessment of the context and the interpersonal relationship, and not solely on the linguistic formulation. For the native speakers of English, though the text was mainly comprehended as Neutral, both a Polite and a Rude Politeness Evaluation was in fact possible. Like the previous text, they grouped mainly around Suggestion in terms of the interpreted Intention and showed a great majority in favour of making changes. When comparing the comprehension of the non-native speakers to the paraphrased prototypical comprehension of the native speakers, we notice that the non-native speakers seem to change a lot more in their comprehension compared to the hedged imperative than did the native speakers, especially in relation to their selection of Intention and Willingness to Change.

The native speakers' comprehension as mainly Neutral, mainly Suggestion and Piece of Advice and largely in favour of Change was paraphrased into the following: *it is alright. **In an alternative world** where I know that you are willing to include more details and that you are able to include more details, **I state as my opinion**: you include more details. **If you do so, it will be better*** where

*but* is included in the paraphrase as *in an alternative world*, and *should* is expressed as *I state as my opinion* in combination with the compensation *if you do so, it will be better*. In other words, not only did the selections of the native speakers show how they comprehended the Satisfaction and Obedience Conditions, it also showed how the input from the naming stage in the communication process made its impact. Although still a Suggestion or Piece of Advice as with the hedged imperative, it did not come from the speaker's world of beliefs but stemmed from her world of opinions.

For the non-native speakers, the picture is less clear. Although some of them see it as a Piece of Advice or Suggestion, Request is also popular with the Japanese and Chinese speakers of English as is Order for especially the Russian speakers of English, but to a lesser extent also with the Chinese speakers of English. Along the same lines, the selections of Perhaps Change drop a lot for the Russian speakers of English (and none occur in connection with Order as the Intention), but also somewhat for the Japanese speakers of English. For the Chinese speakers of English, however, the number of selections of Perhaps Change actually increases, but only in combination with Piece of Advice or Suggestion as the selected Intention.

It would seem that at least some of the Russian speakers of English comprehend *should* as indicating obligation rather than suggestion, hence the selections of Order as the Intention and the great increase in Change and subsequent decline in Perhaps Change compared to the previous text. Even for most of Russian speakers of English, who understood the Intention as Suggestion, the Willingness to Change was in favour of Change and not Perhaps Change. For the Russian speakers of English who interpreted the Intention as Order, it would seem that they did not share the native speakers' comprehension that the directive stemmed from the speaker's universe of opinions and that *should* in connection with *but* could function as a form of positive Obedience Condition, a Compensation. Instead it seems that *should* was seen either as a negative Obedience Condition, a type of Sanction or Warning: *if you do not include more details, the paper will not be good enough*, or perhaps as forming part of the Satisfaction Conditions. That is, instead of the Satisfaction Conditions interpreted by the native speakers along the lines of *you can include*, i.e. speaker believe hearer is capable, the Satisfaction Conditions implied are *you shall include*.

It is interesting that for the Chinese speakers of English, the number of selections of Perhaps Change actually rises. They are found in combination with Piece of Advice, Suggestion and

Opinion but not in combination with Request. This indicates that the comprehension of Suggestion and Piece of Advice is different for at least some of the Chinese speakers of English compared to the native speakers, who even for Suggestion or Piece of Advice understood a need to change. In other words, they do not necessarily see the declarative as a signal to change, but only as a symptom of the speaker's experience of a potential problem. It seems that for at least part of the Russian as well as the Chinese speakers of English, the overall understanding they form of the utterance is different to what was the prototypical paraphrased comprehension of the native speakers.

## 9.5. Analysing the text with *it needs to have*

The third of the texts is also formulated as a declarative, however as opposed to the linguistic emphasis on the hearer of the previous text with *you should include*, this text is constructed with a third person modal verb, i.e. *it needs to have*. In the linguistic sense, then, the formulation is quite neutral and makes no direct emphasis on neither speaker nor hearer. In Brown & Levinson's understanding this would probably be an instance of indirectness and thus negative politeness as an attempt to mitigate the threat to the hearer's negative face.

### 9.5.1. The native speakers of English

For the native speakers of English, *it needs to have* is quite similar to the previous two texts at first glance, especially when we consider their Politeness Evaluation as can be seen from figure 25 below.

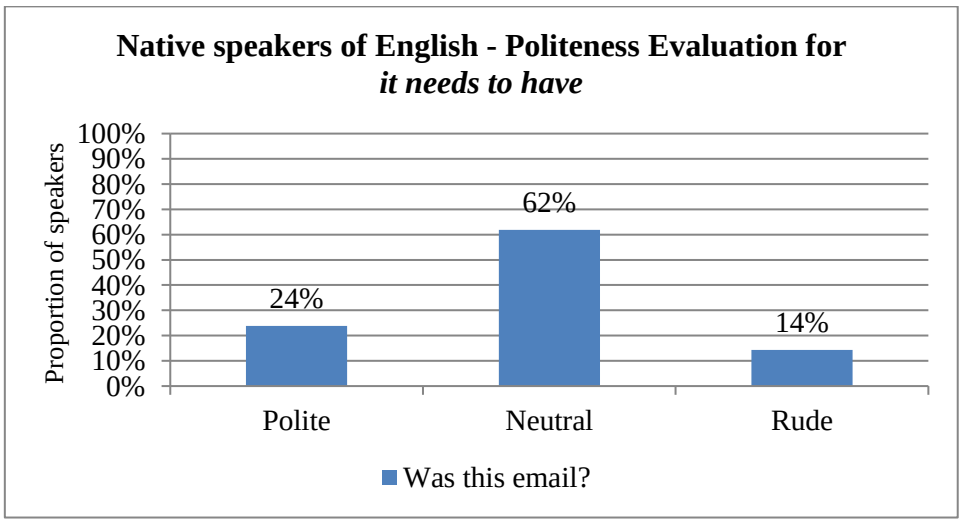


*Figure 25 Overview of the Politeness Evaluation of 'it needs to have' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

There is a slight increase in the number of participants who consider it Neutral and consequently a decrease in the number of participants who find it Rude, whereas the same number (in fact the exact same participants) regards it as Polite. Interestingly, while almost all of these have kept their selections exactly the same for all three texts, one of them (UK15) has changed her selection of Intention to a Warning which means that a Warning may in fact be considered Polite. The three participants who selected Rude also found either both the previous texts to be Rude (UK14 and UK23) or one of the previous texts to be Rude (UK2).

However, though the Politeness Evaluation for *it needs to have* appeared quite similar, the interpretations of Intention for this text are remarkably different.

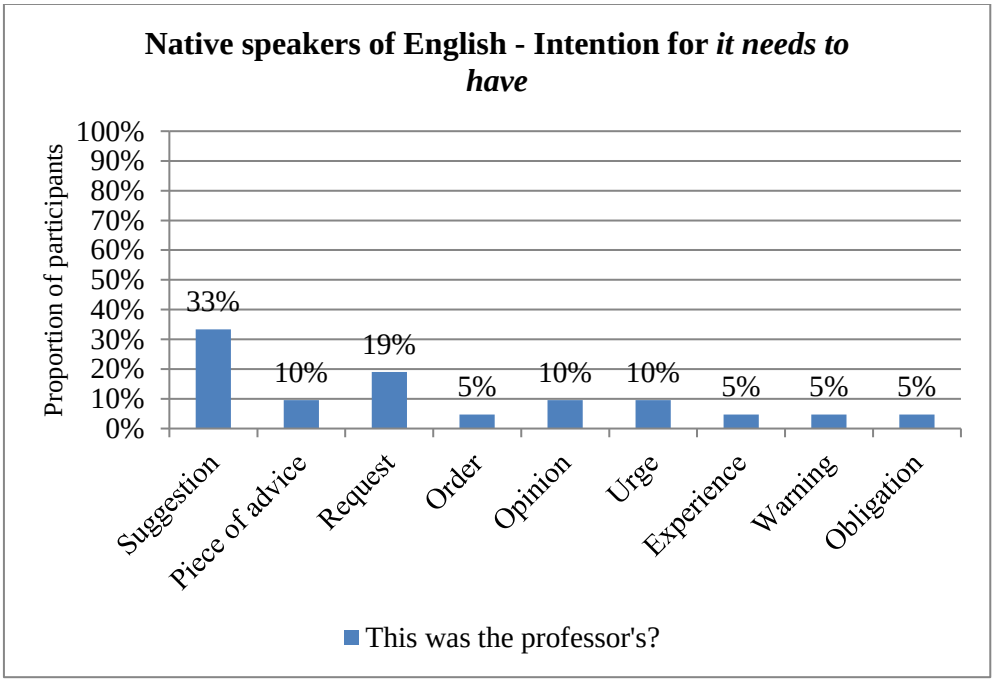


*Figure 26 Overview of the interpretation of the Intention for 'it needs to have' by the native speakers of English*

From figure 26 above we note that the participants spread out a lot more than with the previous two texts. In fact, this is the only text for the native speakers where all nine Intentions are selected. For some reason, the Intention behind the impersonal third person declarative seems unclear to the native speakers, which is interesting since it did not seem to affect their Politeness Evaluation a lot nor does it have any impact on their Willingness to Change as seen from figure 27 below.

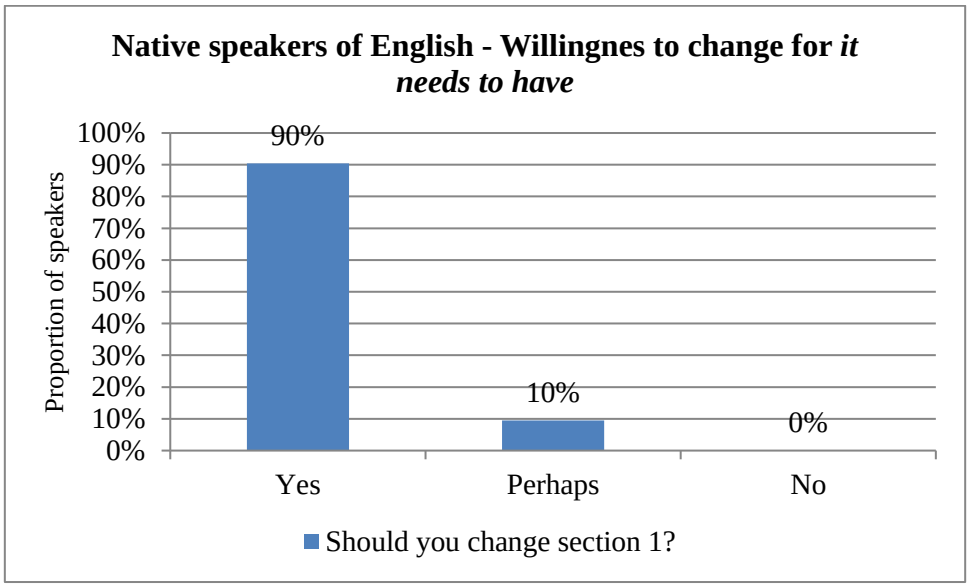


*Figure 27 Overview of the Willingness to Change for 'it needs to have' by the native speakers of English*

Quite on the contrary, almost all participants would still make changes to section 1 (see figure 27 above), in fact the number is the same as for the hedged imperative in the first text and thus slightly smaller than the number of people for the previous text with *you should include*.

#### *9.5.1.1. Paraphrasing the native speakers' comprehension of the text*

The second declarative text which the participants come across, is *but it needs to have*. Linguistically, this is different first of all in its use of the modal *needs* rather than *should* and secondly focus is placed on the paper rather than the student/hearer through the third person neutral subject *it* as opposed to the second person personal subject *you*. Yet as mentioned this seemed to have little impact on the native speakers' comprehension of the text, at least when it comes to the Politeness Evaluation, which is still mainly neutral, and the Willingness to Change, which is still overwhelmingly in favour of Yes to changes. Nonetheless, the linguistic altering did seem to have an effect on the native speakers' interpretation of Intention, where they spread out a lot more and although Suggestion was still the main selection, its numbers were less convincing and particularly interesting was the drop in selections of Piece of Advice. Since *needs* expresses something that is essential rather than just desirable (Need, n.d.), it is quite interesting that Suggestion is still the main selection for Intention and that we do not see many selections of for instance Order or Obligation, and even Request does not gather more selections than with any of the other texts. I shall now try to explain why it is possible for the native speakers to comprehend *but it needs to have* as a neutral Suggestion which requires subsequent changes.

In contrast to the previous texts, i.e. *perhaps include* and *you should include*, the *but* in combination with *it needs to have* indicates a less positive contrast to *it's alright*. Rather than implying that more details would offer improvement to an already alright paper, it indicates that the paper is in fact in need of details simply to be alright. We could therefore expect that the wording *it needs to have* would be understood as a negative Obedience Condition, i.e. a Sanction paraphrased as *if you do not make it so the paper has more details in Section 1, then it will not be alright*. However, since the main selection of Intention is still Suggestion and since there are no noticeable selections of for instance Order or Obligation, then this cannot really be the case. We could then argue that the hearer instead comprehends it as a positive Obedience Condition, i.e. a Compensation in the form of *if you make it so more details exist in Section 1, then the paper will be alright* and this could perhaps reflect the comprehension by those participants who selected Request, however it does not fully explain why it would then be comprehended as a Suggestion.

The Obedience Conditions are implicit in the sense that they are not directly expressed in the linguistic formulation, but implied by it. This would mean that the hearer comprehended it as the speaker's proposal to a solution: *the paper is alright, but I propose: it needs to have more details*. By stressing the paper (and not the hearer) the speaker guides or motivates the hearer. This motivation is based on the speaker's acceptances of the changes necessary: *I accept it needs details*. But to fully explain why all of this would be comprehended as a Neutral Suggestion requiring changes, we should once again look to the speaker's input from the point of view of the communication process, i.e. her starting point. And this stems from her world of experiences: reading the paper, she experiences that it is in fact alright except it just needs a few more details. In other words, the comprehension of the text as a Suggestion that requires changes can be explained if we consider the speaker's input which is grounded in first of all in her experience when reading the paper, but this experience is combined with her knowledge as an experienced teacher. In other words, the proposed solution, *it needs changes*, is based on the speaker's immediate experience combined with her knowledge gained from years of teaching, of being a professional teacher: *I experience: it is alright but from my being a professional teacher I know: it lacks details*. The fact that Suggestion combines with both Polite, Neutral and Rude in the native speakers' selections could point to the fact that the implicit set of Obedience Conditions may be perceived in their positive form as Compensation, *if you make it so that more details exist in Section 1, then it will be better*, in their negative form as a Sanction: *if you do not make it so that more details exist in section 1, then the paper will not be alright*, or perhaps even in a more neutral

form as an Addendum so to speak to the speaker's final offer: *I make you aware that if you make it so that more details exist in section 1, then the paper will not be experienced as defective*.

In other words, the complete prototypical paraphrase of native speakers' comprehension of the text would read: *it is alright, but as* ***a teacher with many years of experience in these matters, I know and therefore propose*** *more details. If you make it so that more details exist in Section 1, the paper will be better (= Obedience Conditions as Compensation) OR of if you do not make it so that more details exist in Section 1, the paper will not be alright (= Obedience Conditions as Sanction in the form of a Warning) OR I hereby make you aware that if you make it so that more details exist in section 1, then the paper will not be experienced as defective (=Obedience Condition as neutral Addendum).* As this paraphrase highlights, the comprehension of this text is similar to the other text in the sense that it is based on the native speakers comprehending that the origin of it is the speaker's mental universe, i.e. her input in the communication process. What makes it different from the other two texts is that it is not based on her world of beliefs as with *perhaps include* or her world of opinions as with *you should include*, but rather on her world of knowledge. The linguistic formulation with the impersonal third person points to this generalisation on behalf of the speaker, i.e. the speaker speaks on behalf of her authority and profession as a teacher.

### 9.5.2. The non-native speakers of English

The shift of linguistic focus from the hearer in the previous declarative text to the impersonal *it* for this declarative text does seem to affect the non-native speakers of English to some extent. As can be seen from figure 28 below, the Politeness Evaluation from the non-native speakers shows an increase in the number of selection for Polite for all groups but especially for the Chinese and the Russian speakers of English.

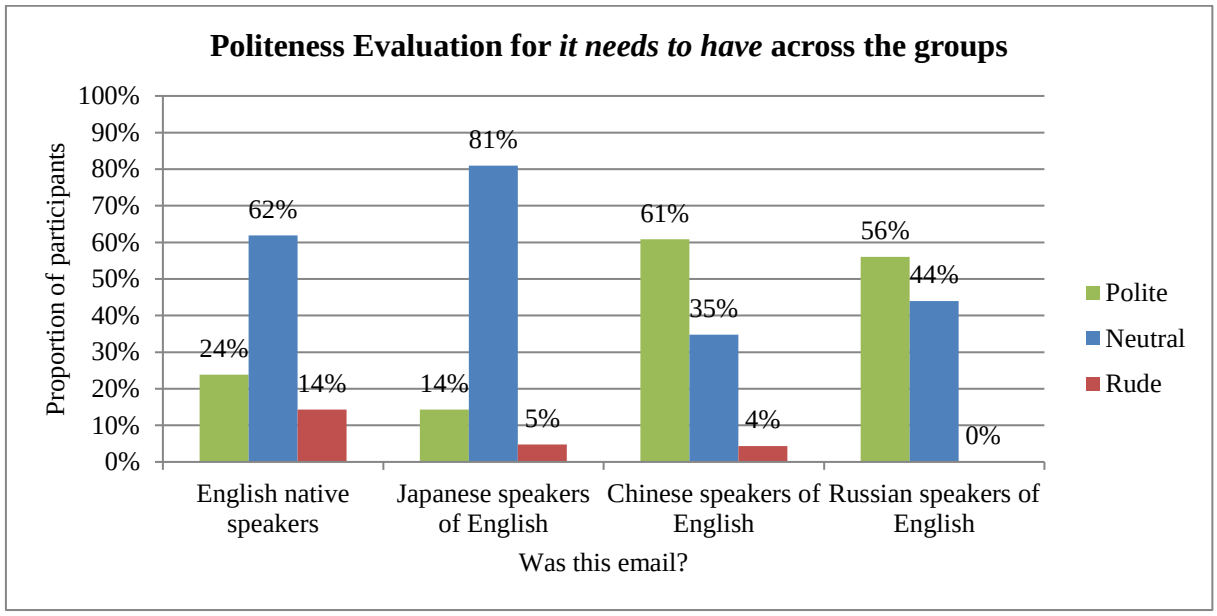


*Figure 28 Overview of the Politeness Evaluation for 'it needs to have'' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The Politeness Evaluation for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

Though the Chinese speakers of English have shown a preference for Polite over Neutral for the previous two texts as well, this text shows an increase compared to *perhaps include* but especially compared to the previous *you should include*. The Russian speakers of English favoured Neutral over Polite for the previous two texts, but *it needs to have* shows a majority for Polite. It seems that the linguistic formulation is more polite for the Chinese and the Russian speakers of English, but even the Japanese speakers of English seem affected by the formulation. Though the vast majority still prefer Neutral as with the previous texts, the number of participants who find the text Rude has dropped and is lower than both previous texts.

Interestingly, when we compare the interpretations of Intention for the non-native speakers with the native speakers (see figure 29 below), it shows that especially the Chinese and the Japanese speakers of English group in larger numbers than the native speakers of English, who spread out over all nine Intentions.

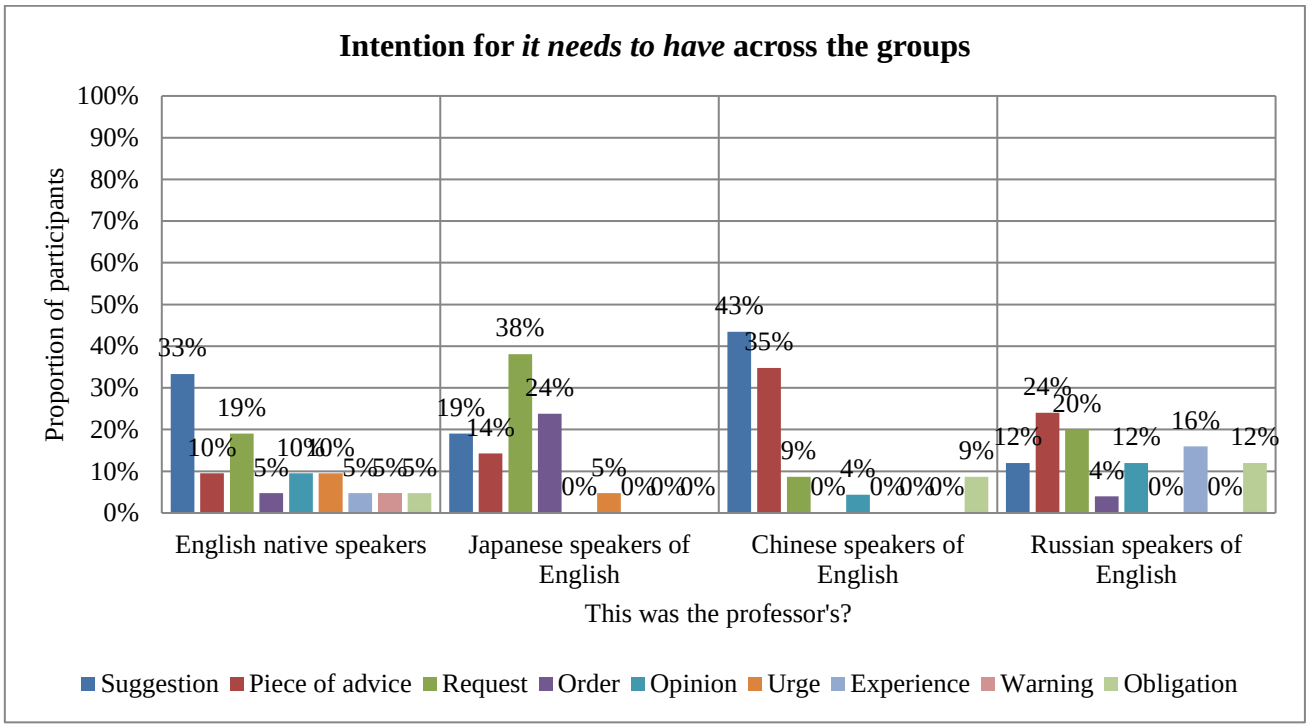


*Figure 29 Overview of the interpretation of Intention for 'it needs to have" for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The interpretation of Intention for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

As figure 29 above shows, the Japanese speakers of English maintain Request as the most selected Intention, but for this text Order has increased quite a lot. This is interesting especially since it is neither the case for the native speakers nor for the rest of the non-native speakers. It would seem that there is something in the linguistic formulation, perhaps the verb *need*, that even when constructed with the impersonal third person singular pronoun *it* makes it more of an Order than the hedged imperative or the second person modal *should*. The question is why this is so. Do they hinge on to the semantic meaning of *need* or is it perhaps the fact that the professor expressed that the report needed it and through the authority of her role it therefore became more of an Order?

As mentioned, the Chinese speakers of English group in rather large number when deciding on the Intention for this text, especially compared to *you should include*, which made them spread out more. Though they mainly group around the same three Intentions as the previous texts, i.e. Piece of Advice, Suggestion and Request, Suggestion has increased a lot for this text compared to *perhaps include*, in which they preferred Piece of Advice, and *you should include*, in which Request and Piece of Advice were equally popular. It is interesting that they are not to the same extent as for instance the Japanese speakers of English affected by the fact that the professor expresses a need for the paper to change. Instead there seems to be something in this formulation

that makes them comprehend it as a Suggestion and not as a Piece of Advice, which Wierzbicka (1987) argued had a greater expected impact on the hearer than Suggestion, and which was in fact their main selection for the previous texts. In this respect they are similar to the native speakers in their comprehension, but more convincing so than the native speakers, who spread out a lot.

As for the Russian speakers of English, they are more similar to the native speakers of English in that they spread out a lot more for this text than for the previous two. Piece of Advice and Request still receive the most selections, but for the first time we see a fair amount of selections of Experience and even Opinion as well. It is interesting that a formulation which linguistically stresses a neutral third person may be comprehended as the Professor's (first person) Experience or Opinion. In terms of how strongly the Request is then comprehended, one might suppose that the participants who selected Experience for Intention would be less inclined to make changes, but in fact three out of the four still selected Change and only one chose Perhaps Change in relation to Willingness to Change. The same can be said for the selections of Opinion, two of the three would make changes whereas the last chose Perhaps Change. In general, and as may be seen from figure 30 below, this text sees less Perhaps Change than the previous two texts for the Russian speakers of English. For the Chinese speakers of English, however, there is still a fair amount of Perhaps Change, the same as with *you should include* which was more than for *perhaps include*.

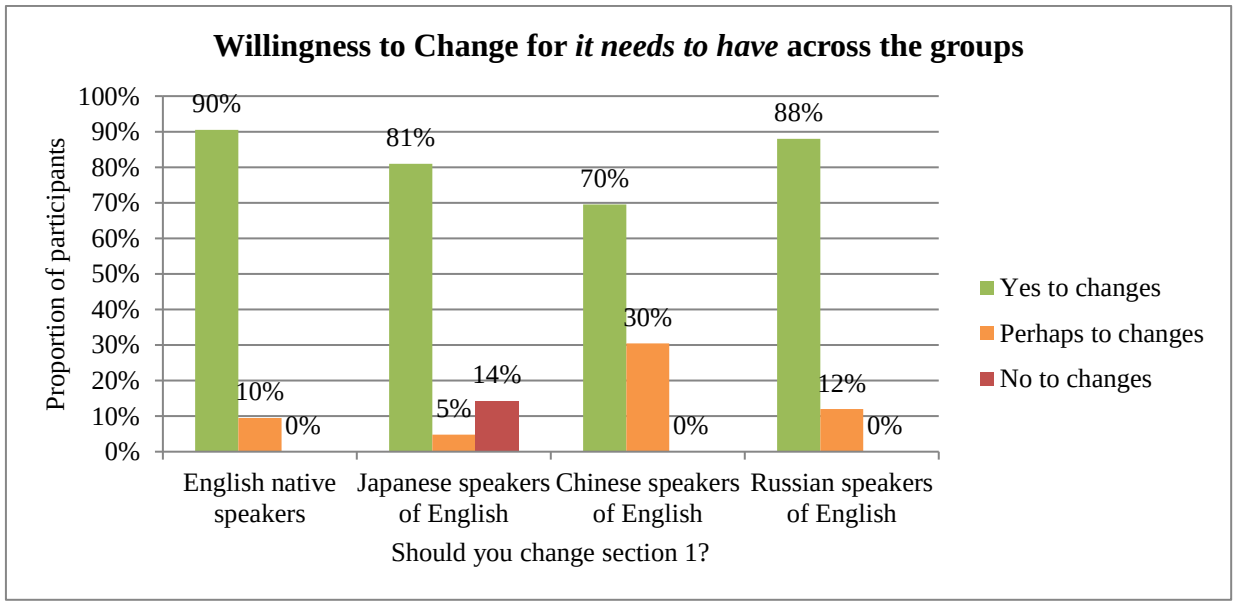


*Figure 30 Overview of the Willingness to Change for 'it needs to have" for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The Willingness to Change for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

What we also see from the figure above is that the Japanese speakers of English show a larger majority for Change than with the previous two texts at the expense of mainly Perhaps Change, which is at the lowest for the three texts. Seen in combination with their selection of Request and Order as the Intention, this suggests that the linguistic formulation of this text is stronger for the Japanese speakers of English than for the previous texts. There is still, nonetheless, a few selections of Don't Change. Of the three participants who selected No, one (JPN1) has made this selection throughout all texts indicating that for her at least there is something more than the linguistic formulation that determines her Willingness to Change. Also noteworthy is the fact that for this text as with the others, Request for the Japanese speakers of English is combinable with Don't Change; this is not the case with any of the other groups.

### 9.5.3. Summing up on *it needs to have* – Relating the non-native speakers' comprehension to the paraphrased comprehension of the native speakers

Summing up on the comprehension of the text with *it needs to have*, though the native speakers of English spread out quite a lot in terms of their selections of Intention, their main selection was still Suggestion and based on this and their main selection of Neutral for Politeness Evaluation, and Change in relation to Willingness to Change, their prototypical comprehension was paraphrased to: *it is alright, but as* ***a teacher with many years of experience in these matters, I know and therefore propose*** *more details. If you make it so that more details exist in Section 1, the paper will be better (= Obedience Conditions as Compensation) OR of if you do not make it so that more details exist in Section 1, the paper will not be alright (= Obedience Conditions as Sanction in the form of a Warning) OR I hereby make you aware that if you make it so that more details exist in section 1, then the paper will not be experienced as defective (=Obedience Condition as neutral Addendum)*. The different possible Obedience Conditions reflected their spread in selection of Intention. The native speakers comprehended it as stemming from the speaker's world of knowledge, as opposed to her world of belief, which was the case with the hedged imperative and her world of opinions as was the case with the second person modal verb declarative *you should include*.

The non-native speakers were both similar to and different from the native speakers in their comprehension. Starting from the end so to speak, the Japanese and Russian speakers of English were similar to the native speakers in that they showed a large majority for Change. Though the majority of the Chinese participants also selected Change, there was still around a third who

selected Perhaps Change. As for the Intention, the Russian speakers of English, like the native speakers, spread out a lot, indicating that in terms of Intention this text was less clear. Both the Japanese and the Chinese speakers of English grouped in larger numbers than the native speakers, but whereas the Japanese speakers of English favoured Request and Order, the Chinese speakers of English preferred mainly Suggestion. As for the Politeness Evaluation, the Japanese speakers of English found it to be neutral, even more so than the native speakers, whereas the Chinese and the Russian speakers of English showed majorities for a Polite reading.

If we relate this to the prototypical comprehension of the native speakers as paraphrased above, we might say that native speakers and non-native speakers are quite similar in their basic comprehension, but also that there might be differences in their full understanding so to speak. Starting with the third of the Chinese speakers of English who selected Perhaps Change, regardless of interpreting it as a Suggestion or a Piece of Advice, it seems that although they may understand the text as a symptom of the speaker's experience, they do not necessarily see this as a signal to make changes, or they understand the signal and the model following from it in a different way than the native speakers. It is of course possible that this is caused by individual differences in the interpretation of the context, but it may also be that they in their understanding place more emphasis on the *it is alright* part of the text, and thereby interpret the contrast indicated by *but* and *it needs to have* as a Suggestion or a Piece of Advice, which may be followed but does not have to be. In other words, they understand that the text is a symptom of the speaker's experience (of reading their paper), but the question is if they also understand it as a signal to act or not, and even if they do understand it as a signal to act, it seems that they understand the model of *how* to act differently, i.e. as being Perhaps Change rather than Change. As for the Russian speakers of English, the fact that they spread out so much in terms of interpreting the Intention, even more so than the native speakers, indicates that although they understand the text as a symptom of the speaker's experience of a problem and indeed understand it as a signal to act and a model of how to act, the English text is quite vague or ambiguous to them in terms of finding out exactly what the speaker means by it.

In other words, though there are many similarities in comprehension, indicating a common meeting point, there are also some differences which, although subtle, might be an indication of more profound differences in the full understanding of the text.

## 9.6. Analysing the text with *I would probably include*

The fourth of the texts which the participants come across is also the third and last text formulated as a declarative. However, this time the linguistic agency is placed on the speaker and moved away from the hearer and the paper, *I would probably include more details in section 1*. If we follow Brown & Levinson's thinking, this could be said to be an instance of negative politeness as the emphasis on the speaker to some extent reduces the imposition on the hearer. When we consider the answers of both native and non-native speakers for this text, it does in fact seem to affect their Politeness Evaluation. The question is why.

### 9.6.1. The native speakers of English

For the native speakers of English, this text stands out compared to the previous three texts, especially in terms of the Politeness Evaluation. As can be seen from figure 31 below, this is the first text that actually shows a majority, albeit small, in favour of a polite understanding. It would appear that moving the (linguistic) emphasis away from the hearer and onto the speaker is indeed perceived as more polite. This is interesting in comparison to the previous text with *it needs to have* which was neutral in terms of emphasis on either speaker or hearer, yet without affecting the Politeness Evaluation of the native speakers. Instead it remained mainly Neutral with the same amount of selections for Polite as *perhaps include* and *you should include*. In other words, it would seem that simply removing the emphasis from the hearer is not enough to make it Polite for the native speakers, whereas placing the emphasis on the speaker is.

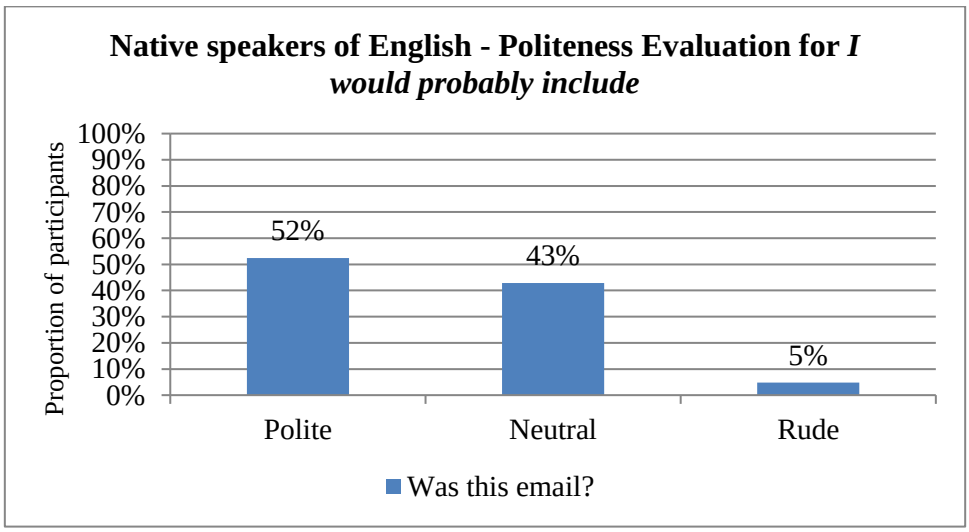


*Figure 31 Overview of the Politeness Evaluation for 'I would probably' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

The rise in a positive Politeness Evaluation is interesting in comparison with the selections of Intention seen for this text. As figure 32 below shows, Suggestion is still the most selected Intention, in fact for this text Suggestion receives the largest amount of selections for all texts for native speakers with almost half of all native speakers.

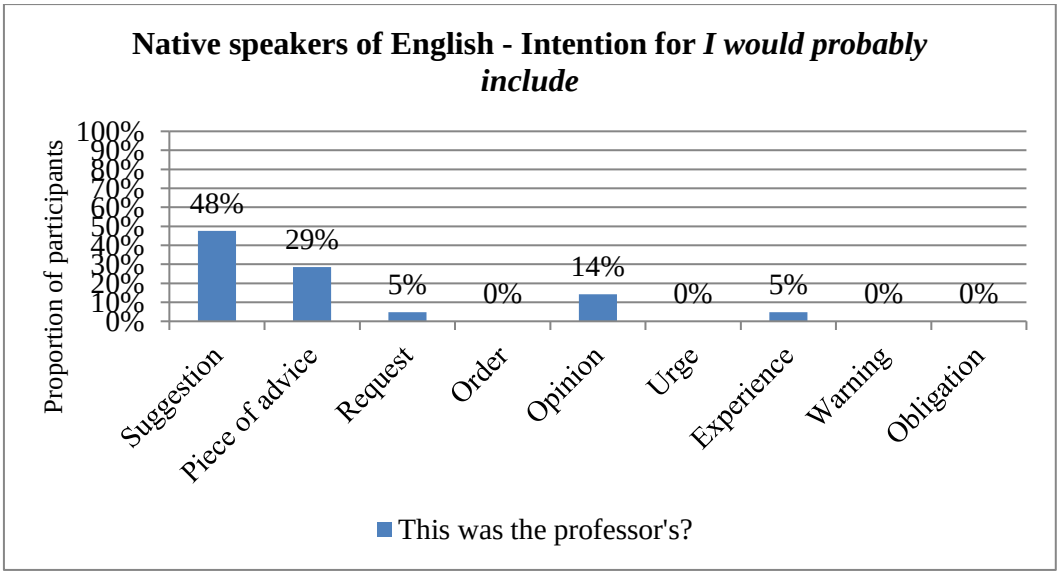


*Figure 32 Overview of the interpretation of Intention of 'I would probably include' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

Piece of Advice is also still popular, but Request which up until now has been in the top three of the native speakers' selections for Intention has dropped to only a single selection and instead we see a small rise in Opinion. This is perhaps not surprising as the linguistic formulation in this text specifically emphasises the speaker as the agent behind it and as such makes no direct impact on the hearer. Interestingly, the increase in a positive Politeness Evaluation seems to be counterbalanced by an increase in Perhaps Change in relation to the Willingness to Change (see figure 33 below).

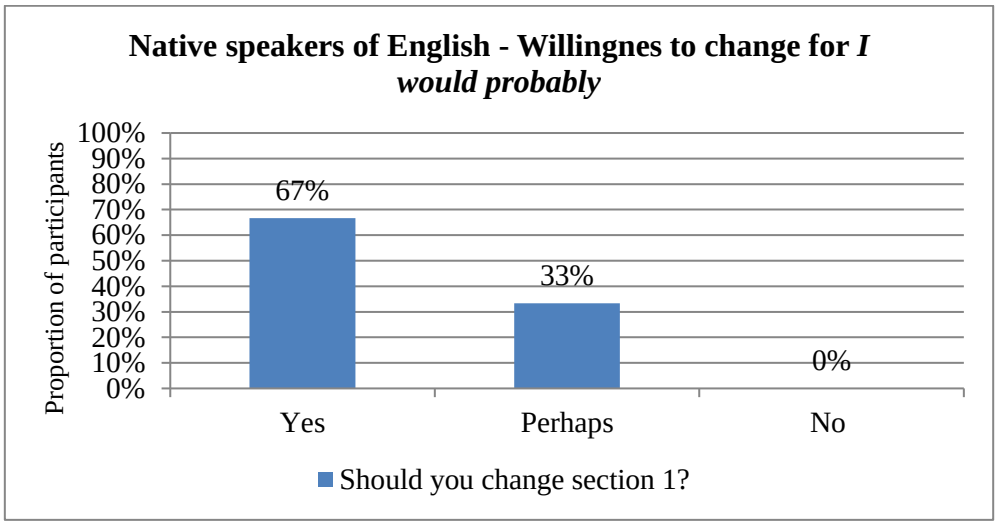


*Figure 33 Overview of the Willingness to Change of 'I would probably include' for the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

As seen from figure 33 above, there is still clearly a majority for Change, but a third of the native speakers actually selected Perhaps Change for *I would probably*. This is by far the largest amount of selections of Perhaps for the native speakers for all texts. Though there are some selections of Perhaps Change in combination with Suggestion (both Neutral and Polite) and also a single selection of Perhaps in combination with Piece of Advice, it is interesting that all three participants who selected Opinion combined it with Perhaps Change, regardless of the Politeness Evaluation (which was both Polite, Neutral and Rude). So whereas the Professor's Suggestion or Piece of Advice would most likely mean that the participants would make subsequent changes, the Professor's Opinion is only perhaps likely to evoke changes in behaviour with the participants.

#### *9.6.1.1. Paraphrasing the native speakers' comprehension of the text*

Looking at the answers of the native speaker for the third of the declarative sentences that they come across, the text *I would probably include more details in Section 1* is interesting both in terms of the hedge *probably*, but also because it is the only text which is formulated with a first person subject, i.e. from the speaker's point of view. As mentioned, from a Brown & Levinson perspective, shifting focus from hearer to speaker is one way on reducing the potential threat to the hearer's negative face, and the same is the use of *probably* as a mitigating device. However, as Brown & Levinson also remarks the use of any mitigating devices is always at the risk of losing clarity and effectiveness. Looking at the native speakers' selection for this text, there seems to be a point to this. In terms of Politeness Evaluation, this is the first of the texts to see a majority, albeit a very small one, in favour of Polite rather than Neutral, but in terms of the Willingness to

Change this is also the only text which has a somewhat larger number of selections of Perhaps Change, around a third of the native speakers. Yet once again we realise that simply stating that the (linguistic) focus on the speaker and the use of the hedging *probably* cause an increase in politeness and at the same time a decrease in effectiveness does not explain why this is so. However, by paraphrasing the utterance based on the native speakers' selection of answers, we may be able to shed some light on why it was comprehended the way it was and what this actually tells us about the hearer's comprehension of the speaker's intention.

The selections of the native speakers show that *(it's alright) but I would probably include more details* was mainly comprehended as a polite or neutral Suggestion which, for the majority, still requires changes. Since the utterance on its own relates only to the speaker, i.e. since the linguistic focus of it highlights its function as a symbol of the speaker, but the hearer nonetheless comprehends it as meaning that she should implement changes, i.e. as a signal to the hearer, some sort of transformation must take place. First of all, the past tense modal verb *would* is used to indicate the consequence of an imagined situation, to give advice or to express opinion or hope (Would, n.d.). In other words, *would* suggests an imagined world in which the speaker puts herself in the hearer's place. The reason that a majority of the native speakers, and especially of those who interpreted it as a Suggestion, find the text to be polite could be that it indicates concern on behalf of the speaker, i.e. the professor, that she is willing to put herself in the hearer's, i.e. the student's, place. In other words, the paraphrasing process may start by emphasising the imagined world: *I say: in an imagined world where I put myself in you place, I include more details in Section 1*.

Second of all, the linguistic formulation of the text fits the standard understanding of a piece of advice also highlighted by Wierzbicka (1987), i.e. the notion of 'if I were you, I would do'. Nonetheless, the majority of the native speakers still interpret the Intention as a Suggestion and only around a third of them see it as a Piece of Advice. According to Wierzbicka (1987, pp. 181-188) what separates a Suggestion from a Piece of Advice is the effect that the speaker expects it to have on the hearer, i.e. a Piece of Advice is stronger than a Suggestion because it entails an expectation that the hearer will in fact follow the directions implied by the Piece of Advice. In other words, it is somewhat surprising that such a large number of the native speaker still interpret it as a Suggestion rather than a Piece of Advice. There is of course the possibility that the participants simply do not make the same distinction between Suggestion and Piece of Advice as

I do, but it may also be possible to explain the preference for Suggestion over Piece of Advice (and Opinion) by considering the role that *probably* plays in the sentence.

We might first consider if *probably* could be comprehended as forming part of a potential set of Obedience Conditions, i.e. as part of the speaker's guiding of the hearer in the process of anchoring or as specifying the model for the hearer to follow in her execution. *Probably* in combination with the contrast indicated by *but* could then mean a comprehension along the lines of *it is alright but if you include more details it would probably be better*. However, this does not seem to be the case. You might argue that since the linguistic focus with this text is on the speaker and not on the hearer, even in connection with the contrast indicated by *but*, it does not make sense as such to look at the Obedience Conditions.

We might therefore consider if *I would probably* could be considered part of the Satisfaction Conditions, i.e. the speaker's framing and thereby the signal to the hearer to act upon. This would mean that *probably* would be connected directly to the verb *include*. Yet, since the text is understood mainly as a Suggestion requiring changes, *probably* must function not as a modifier to the verb *include* – if so we would expect more of the native speakers to have selected Perhaps Change – but rather to the entire utterance. Just as we saw with *perhaps* in the hedged imperative, *probably* works on a meta-level, so to speak, indicating the speaker's input from the communication process, i.e. from where in her discourse world the speaker verbalises. The experienced problem situation is the same as for the other texts: the speaker experiences that Section 1 lacks details. But the proposed solution to the problem is different because it is grounded in the speaker's world of beliefs and *probably* is an indication of this. In that sense *probably* is an epistemic marker just as *perhaps*, but whereas *perhaps* indicated 'best bid to a solution', *probably* indicates that this is the conclusion that the speaker arrives at as the proposed solution after having thought things through. When this understanding of *probably* is added to the paraphrase it reads: ***From my world of beliefs I conclude****: in* ***an imagined world where I put myself in your place****, I include more details in Section 1*, where *from my world of beliefs I conclude* illustrates the function of *probably* and *in an imagined world where I put myself in your place* is the paraphrase for *would*.

For a declarative to work as a speech act, however, the hearer needs to comprehend it not only as a symptom of the speaker's experience but also as a signal (and subsequently as a model) to perform a certain action. Since the majority of the native speakers comprehended the text as

indicating that they should change the paper, they do understand the signal of it. In other words, there must be something in the linguistic formulation which – perhaps in combination with the context – removes the obstacle that keeps them from making changes. Although a declarative as a directive always must contain a set of Satisfaction Conditions, identifying them is perhaps somewhat tricky with this text since the linguistic focus is on the speaker as the agent (as opposed to the hearer as in *you should include* or the paper itself as in *it needs to have*). How exactly it is able to function as a signal for the hearer to act is intriguing since there is no specific (linguistic) reference to the hearer, only to the speaker, still there must be something in the formulation *it's alright but I would probably include more details in Section 1* which works as a signal for those of the native speakers who selected Change. It seems that they are able to understand it as a signal because they understand that the professor has put herself in the hearer's place and from her world of beliefs drawn the conclusion to make changes and from this follows that the hearer should (re)act and do the same, i.e. *from my world of beliefs I conclude: in an imagined world where I put myself in your place I include more details* implies signal *if you do as I do, the paper will be better*. In other words, the speaker implies that her way of acting serves as the model for the hearer to follow: *if you follow this model, the paper will be better*. The paraphrase then reads: ***From my world of beliefs I conclude****: in* ***an imagined world where I put myself in your place****, I include more details in Section 1. If you follow this model, the paper will be better*.

For the native speaker participants who selected Opinion as the Intention, they all combine this interpretation with a Perhaps to changes indicating that they did not comprehend the declarative as a signal for the hearer to act but only as a symptom of the speaker's experience. In other words, for those participants the paraphrase would most likely be: *From my world of opinions I say: in an alternative world where I put myself in your place I include more details* and is thereby different from the paraphrase of the prototypical comprehension of the native speakers which reads: *it is alright.* ***From my world of beliefs I conclude****: in* ***an imagined world where I put myself in your place****, I include more details in Section 1. If you follow this model, the paper will be better*.

### 9.6.2. The non-native speakers of English

As for the Non-native speakers of English, *I would probably include* is also remarkably different from the rest of the texts both on Politeness Evaluation, Intention and Willingness to Change. As can be seen in figure 34 below just as the native speakers of English all three groups of non-native

speakers show a majority for Polite, and in even more convincing numbers than the native speakers.

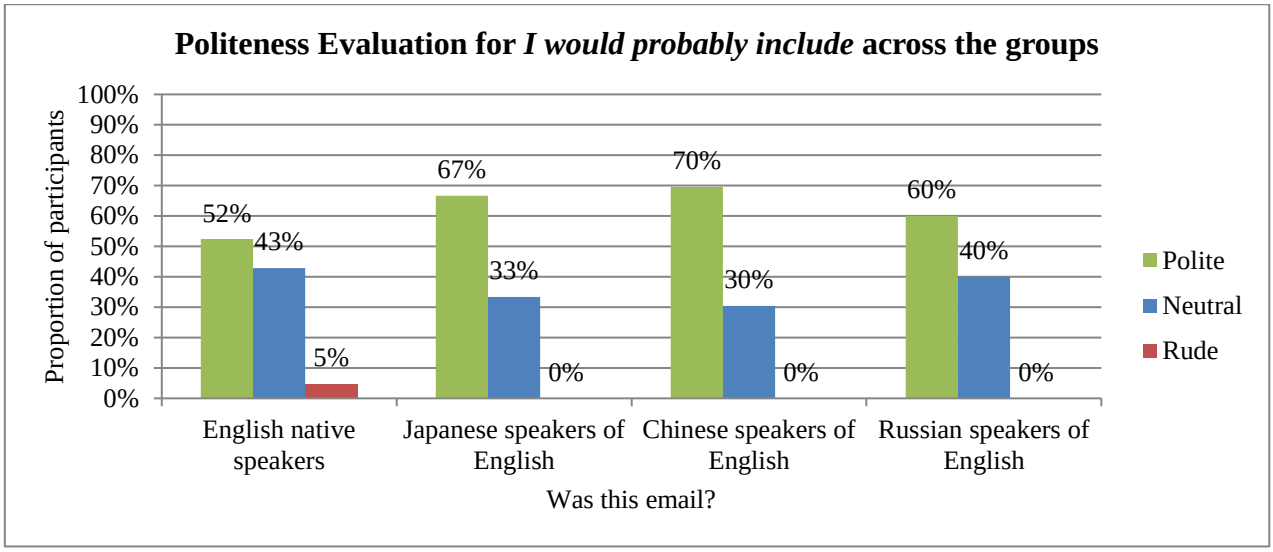


*Figure 34 Overview of the Politeness Evaluation for 'I would probably include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The Politeness Evaluation for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

In fact, this is the first text that sees the otherwise very neutral prone Japanese speakers of English favour a polite reading and in fact the only of the texts where there is no selection of Rude at all. Although the Chinese speakers of English in general have favoured Polite for the texts, this text shows the largest majority of all texts.

If we consider the selections of Intention for the non-native speakers, the picture for *I would probably include* is also quite different compared to the previous texts as seen from figure 35 below.

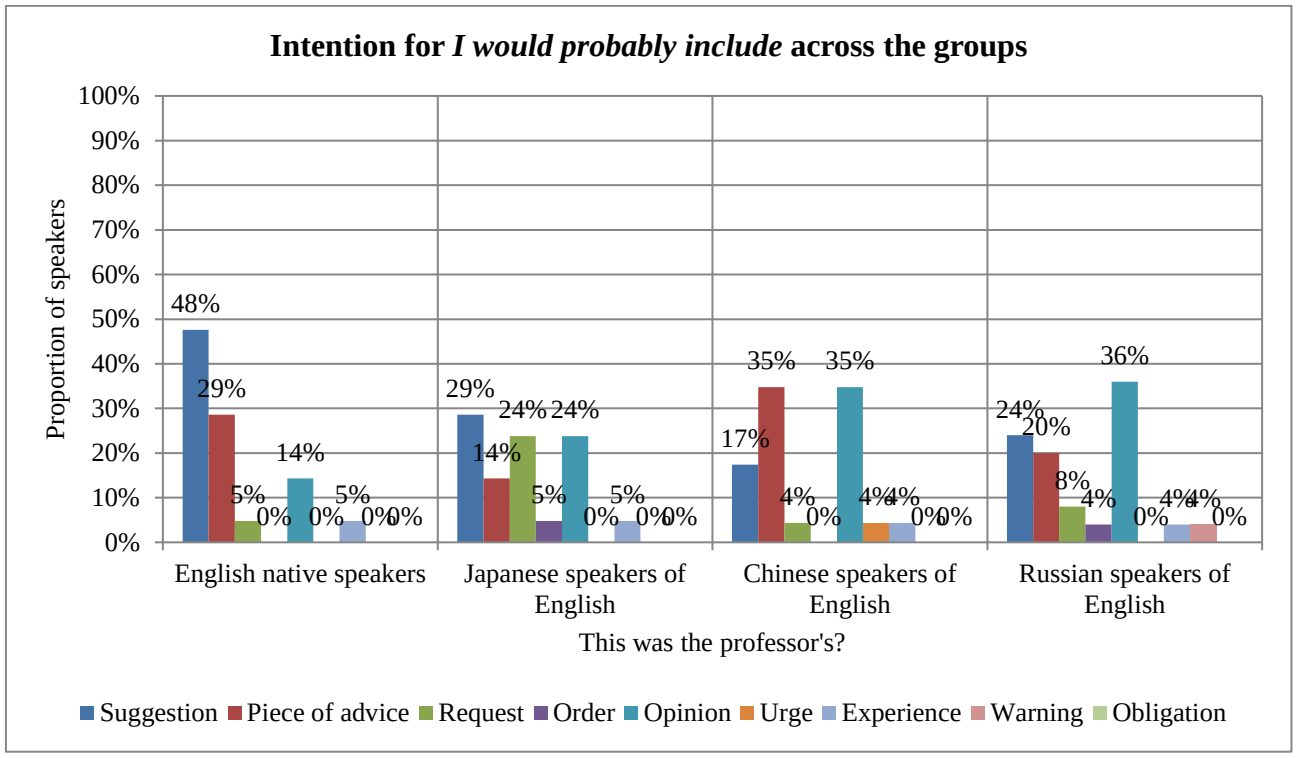


*Figure 35 Overview of the interpretation of Intention for 'I would probably include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The interpretation of Intention for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

For the native speakers of English, *I would probably include* prompted a small increase in the selections of Opinion. This increase in Opinion is even more explicit for all three groups of non-native speakers, especially the Chinese and the Russian speakers of English. With the Chinese speakers of English, Piece of Advice is popular as it has been throughout the previous texts as well. However, whereas the impersonal *it needs to have* was interpreted mainly as a Suggestion, and the second person modal verb *you should include* as Piece of Advice or Request, this text sees an equal amount of selections for both Piece of Advice and, for the first time, also Opinion. Their selection of Opinion is quite interesting when compared to their Willingness to Change. Whereas the participants who selected Piece of Advice mainly combine this with Change, the combination with Perhaps Change or even Don't Change is also possible for Piece of Advice in this text. For the participants who selected Opinion, however, only two combined it with Change. The remaining six either combined it with Perhaps Change or even Don't Change, regardless of whether it is evaluated as Polite or Neutral. This suggests that if the Intention is interpreted as an Opinion, this is less strong for the Chinese speakers of English in terms of the subsequent Willingness to Change.

For the Russian speakers of English, Opinion is the most selected Intention, though they do spread out quite a lot. As with the Chinese speakers of English, Opinion is also mainly combined with Perhaps Change and only a few selections of Change. Interestingly, in the case of the Russian speakers, Suggestion and Piece of Advice are also mainly found in combination with Perhaps Change, although there are some combinations with Change also.

As this indicates, and as figure 36 below shows, the text with *I would probably* sees large changes in relation to the Willingness to Change for all groups of non-native speakers (as well as for the native speakers).

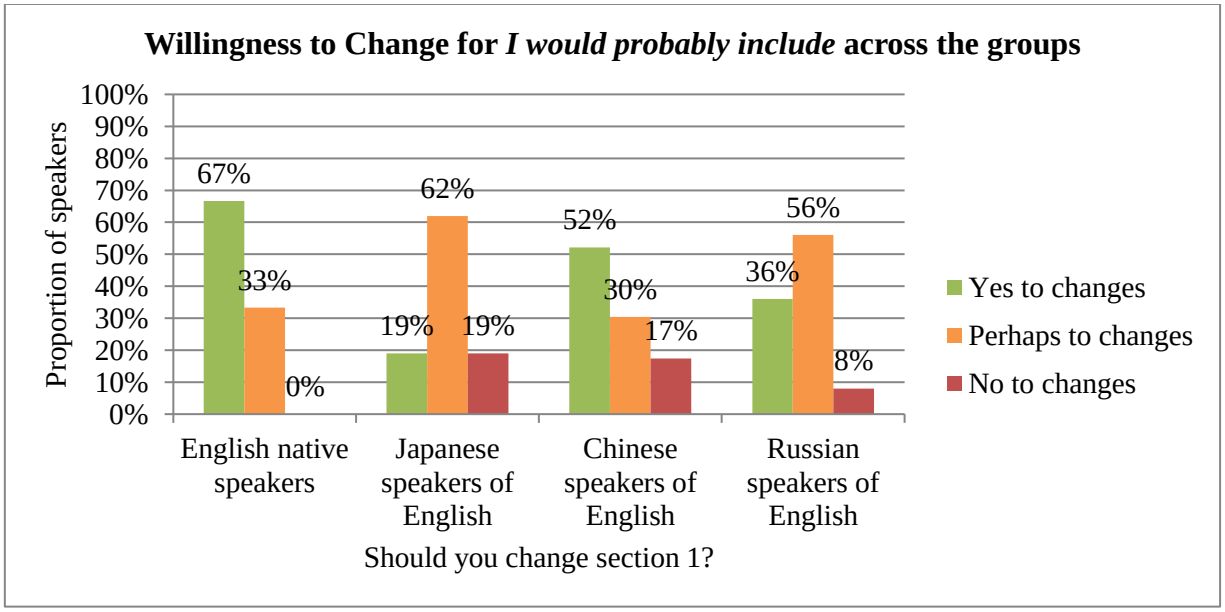


*Figure 36 Overview of the Willingness to Change for 'I would probably include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The Willingness to Change for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

Although the Chinese speakers of English still maintain a majority in favour of changes, it is noticeably smaller than for the rest of the texts, and even though the number of selections for Perhaps Change has not increased compared to the texts with *it needs to have* and *you should include*, the number of selections for Don't Change has increased. In fact, it is the largest for all texts. As mentioned, the selections of Perhaps Change are found mainly in combination with Opinion but also, to a smaller extent, in combination with Piece of Advice. Don't Change is found equally in combination with Opinion and Piece of Advice.

For the Russian and especially the Japanese speakers of English, this text means a shift in majority from Change to Perhaps Change when compared to the previous text. For the Japanese speakers of English, the 62% majority is by far the largest selection of Perhaps Change of all the texts. To this should be added the 19% who selected Don't Change, which means that for this text only around a fifth of the Japanese speakers of English would positively make changes. This means that all Intentions is combined with Perhaps Change and/or Don't Change. Opinion is interesting in this case because it is only found in combination with Perhaps Change, whereas Suggestion is combined mainly with Perhaps Change but also has a few combinations with Changes. Interestingly, Request is mainly combined with Don't Change, which once again makes the Japanese speakers of English the only participants who feel that a Request from a superior may be refused. It should be noted in this connection that two of the participants (JPN1 and JPN18) who make this selection, make it for almost all texts (JPN1 changes her Politeness Evaluation throughout the text but the Intention and Willingness to change remain constant except for the last text. JPN18 makes the same selections of both Politeness Evaluation, Intention and Willingness to Change for all texts except the first). This indicates that at least for these two participants, the reluctance to make changes is not directly dependent on or related to the linguistic formulation of the Request, but rather it seems to be related to their interpretation of the overall context and setting of the text.

For the Russian speakers of English *I would probably include* is the only text that sees a majority in favour of Perhaps Change, albeit a small majority, and just over a third of the Russian speakers of English would still make changes. The selections of Perhaps Change are found in combination with almost all the selected Intentions, but as mentioned especially in combination with Opinion and also Piece of Advice and Suggestion. The exception to this, however, is for the few selections of Request and Order, which were only found in combination with Change.

### 9.6.3. Summing up on *I would probably include* – Relating the non-native speakers' comprehension to the paraphrased comprehension of the native speakers

Summing up on the comprehension of the text with *I would probably include*, the comprehension of the non-native speakers of this text was quite different than that of the native speakers, mainly in relation to the interpreted Intention and the Willingness to Change. For the native speakers of English, *I would probably include* was mainly interpreted as a Polite or Neutral Suggestion although we did also see some selections for Opinion. And as regards the Willingness to Change,

although a third of the native speakers selected Perhaps Change, which is by far the largest selection of Perhaps Change for all texts, the majority of the native speakers would still implement subsequent change. From my analysis of their answers, I found that they comprehended the text as stemming from the speaker's world of beliefs, but as a thought through conclusion where the speaker puts herself in the hearer's place and by doing so the utterance comes to function not only as a symptom of the speaker's input, i.e. her world of beliefs, but also as a signal to the hearer to act and do as the speaker. Their prototypical comprehension was therefore formulated as the following paraphrase: ***From my world of beliefs I conclude****: in* ***an imagined world where I put myself in your place****, I include more details in Section 1. If you follow this model, the paper will be better.*

For the non-native speakers, the picture is different. All groups favoured a Polite reading just as the native speakers, which seems to indicate that regardless of mother tongue and the supertype hereof, the idea that the speaker puts herself in the hearer's place is considered polite. Perhaps because it expresses a kind of sympathy or consideration on behalf of the speaker. In terms of the interpretation of Intention, all three groups of non-native speakers differed from the native speakers. Although the Japanese speakers of English also selected Suggestion as the main Intention, the number was much smaller than the native speakers and Request and Opinion received almost the same amount of selections. For the Chinese and the Russian speakers of English, Opinion was the most selected Intention together with Piece of Advice for the Chinese speakers of English and (in lesser numbers though) Suggestion and Piece of Advice for the Russian. For all three groups of non-native speakers the selections of Perhaps Change or Don't Change in relation to the Willingness to Change increased, even forming a majority for the Russian and the Japanese speakers of English. The Chinese speakers of English keep a majority for Change, found mostly in combination with Suggestion and the few selections of Request, Experience and Urge, and to a lesser extent with Piece of Advice and even less in combination with Opinion.

From this we are able to draw two tentative conclusions. First of all, it seems that for all three groups, but especially for the Chinese and Russian speakers of English, *I would probably include* is seen not so much as a conclusion stemming from the speaker's world of beliefs, but rather simply as a symptom of the speaker's opinion, which is perceived as polite. It seems that the linguistic stress on the agency of the speaker is reflected in their interpretation of Intention. In that

sense the non-native speakers seem more affected by the linguistic agency of the utterance than the native speakers. Although it is difficult to say precisely why this is so, it may be that the native speakers have a more rich or deep understanding of what constitutes naming, i.e. the speaker's experience, because this is transferred from their understanding of naming in the communication process in which the placement of the utterance within one of the speaker's discourse worlds plays a fundamental role. The native speakers are simply used to and experts in understanding this because they do so every time they mentally recreate the journey made by the speaker to reach to full understanding.

Secondly, it would seem that just as *I would probably* is comprehended as a symptom of the speaker's Opinion by a great amount of the non-native speakers, regardless of their mother tongue, the overall Willingness to Change, i.e. the comprehension of the utterance as not only a symptom of the speaker's experience of a problem but also as a signal to act upon, is also greatly affected by the linguistic formulation of the request. Whether the large selections of Perhaps Change are caused by the hedge *probably* or simply follow from the formulation of the directive in the first person singular, thus stressing the speaker as an agent and not the hearer, is unclear. It may be that for the Japanese and the Chinese speakers of English who also show large selections of Suggestion and Piece of Advice in combination with Perhaps Change or even Don't Change, the hedge *probably* either on its own or in combination with the linguistic emphasis on speaker as opposed to hearer has affected their Willingness to Change. That is, they do not necessarily comprehend it as just a symptom of the professor's Opinion, but indeed as her Suggestion or Piece of Advice, however, they still do not consider this as automatically being a signal to implement changes.

In other words, when we compare the comprehension of the non-native speakers to the prototypical paraphrased comprehension of the native speakers, it seems that a great deal of the non-native speakers do not reach the same full understanding of the text as the native speakers. The question is if they for this text may be said to even have the same initial comprehension, i.e. if they reach the same physical meeting point as the native speakers, but not the same mental meeting point, or if their comprehension of the texts reflects an entirely different comprehension all together, i.e. both first (physical) and second (mental) meeting point.

## 9.7. Analysing the text with *why don't you include*

The text with *Why don't you include* is the first of the texts formulated as an interrogative, but not only is it an interrogative, it is also negated. Following Durst-Andersen's theories, the interrogative represents the speaker's open proposal to a solution to the problem. When in its negated form it is often a reflection of the speaker's thought or wonder, i.e. the speaker asks the hearer, so to speak if his thought matches the hearer's thought (Durst-Andersen, 2009a). The negated interrogative of this text is special in that it is combined with *why*, and thereby matches what Wierzbicka (1987) finds is the prototypical formulation of a Suggestion. If we follow the classical politeness thinking of for instance Brown & Levinson (1978/87), the interrogative is often associated with the prototypical indirect speech act and thereby considered inherently polite. A notion which, as the discussion in Chapter 5 also stressed, has been greatly disputed by other researchers, e.g. Wierzbicka (1985,1991).

### 9.7.1. The native speakers of English

For the native speakers of English, the text with *why don't you include* is divided almost equally between Neutral and Polite with a few selections of Rude also (see figure 37 below). In this sense, it is similar to *I would probably include* which also favoured Polite, although this text in smaller numbers. The linguistic formulation emphasises the hearer, but whereas the declarative modal verb construction with you *you should include* yielded a more neutral reading with an equal amount of both polite and rude evaluations as well, the (negated) interrogative why construction is evaluated more positive.

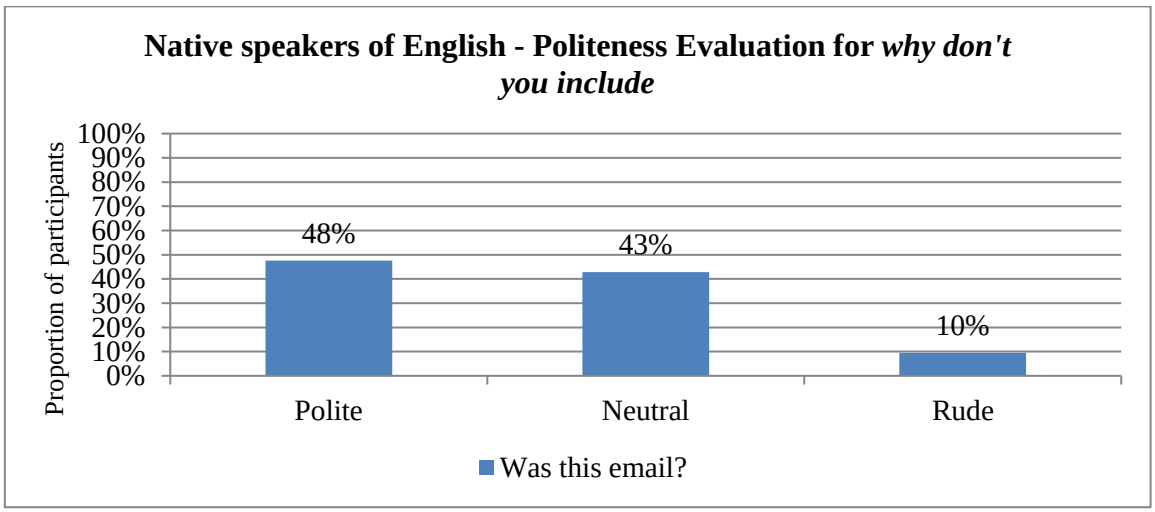


*Figure 37 Overview of the Politeness Evaluation for 'why don't you include' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

In terms of Intention, *why don't you include* is also similar to the previous text as seen from figure 38 below.

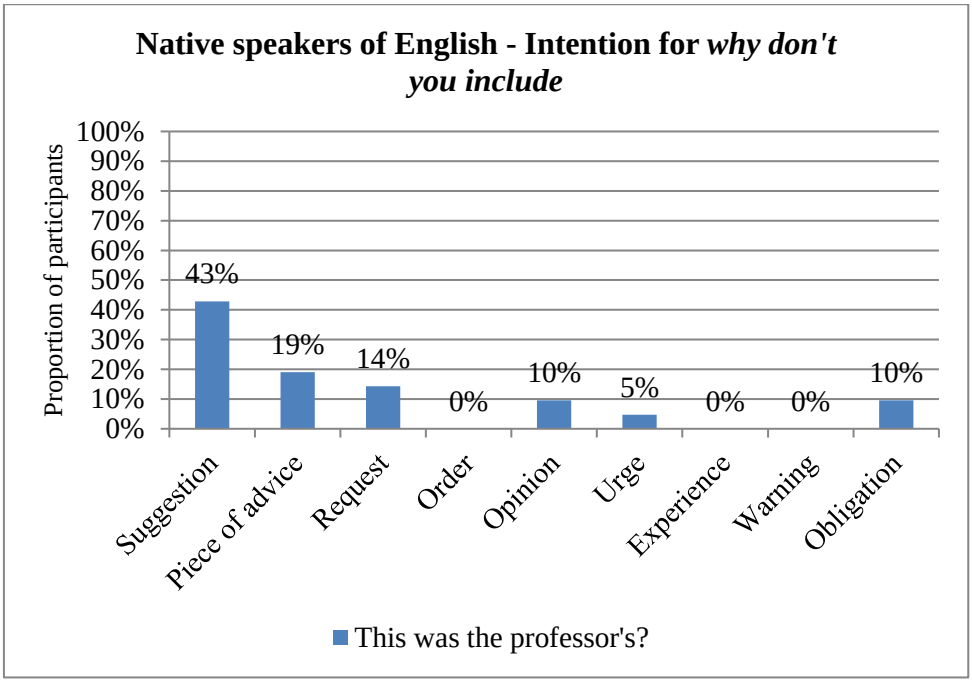


*Figure 38 Overview of the interpretation of the Intention for 'why don't you include' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

Once again, Suggestion is the most selected category, as with the previous texts, but for this text the rest of the selections spread out a lot. Piece of Advice is still second but with fewer selections and whereas *I would probably include* meant a rise in Opinion over Request, *why don't you include* sees the reverse, albeit the numbers are small. There are also a few selections of Obligation.

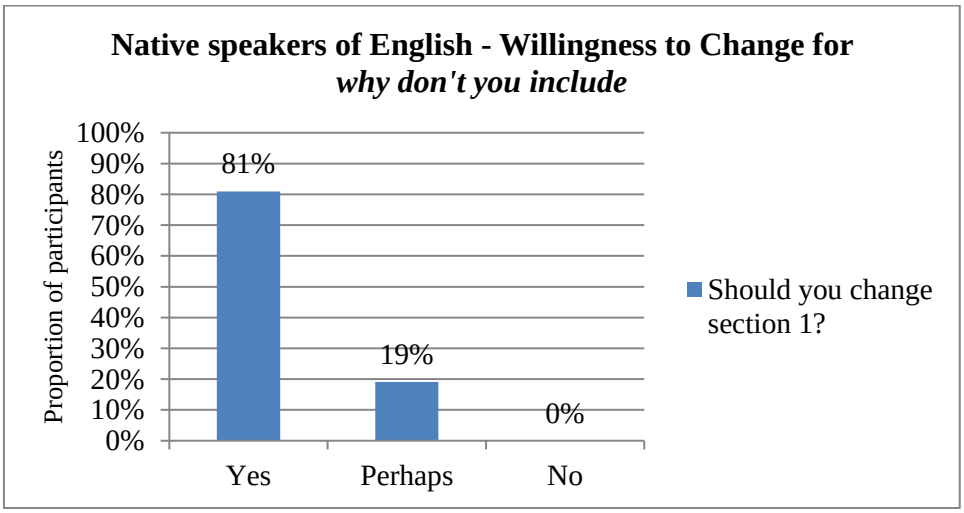


*Figure 39 Overview of the Willingness to Change for 'why don't you include' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

What does seem to set this text apart from the previous with *I would probably include* is the Willingness to Change, in which Perhaps Change has dropped a lot (see figure 39 above). The number of participants who selected Perhaps Change is still greater for this text than the rest (except of course for *I would probably*), indicating that there is still some sort of insecurity related to this formulation. The selections of Perhaps Change are found both in combination with Suggestion and with Piece of Advice but also in combination with Opinion. Interestingly, whereas Opinion for *I would probably include* was combined only with Perhaps Change, for *why don't you include* it is also combined with Change. This may be an indication that a certain Willingness to Change is not necessarily linked to a certain interpretation of Intention, but that the relationship between the two is evaluated from text to text, depending on the linguistic formulation.

#### *9.7.1.1. Paraphrasing the native speakers' comprehension of the text*

As mentioned, the interrogative sentence form works as an open negotiation, i.e. it represents the speaker's open proposal solution to the hearer. In other words, whereas the declarative is based on a proposed solution as the starting point which the speaker then accepts, an interrogative takes its starting point in a possible solution which the speaker then wonders about. An open proposal naturally leaves more room for negotiation than the proposal for a solution expressed by the declarative and even more than the already signed contract suggested by the imperative. This may perhaps explain why, according to Brown & Levinson (1987), an interrogative is thought to be a strategy for negative politeness as giving the hearer more room to manoeuvre implies less of an imposition and is considered to be less of a threat to the hearer's negative face.

The selections of the native speakers showed that overall they comprehended *it's alright but why don't you include more details in Section 1* much along the same lines as the previous declarative text *I would probably*, i.e. as a polite (or neutral) Suggestion which requires subsequent changes, which is interesting considering that the linguistic formulations are quite different. However, in relation to the Willingness to changes, the selections of Perhaps Change drop from a third of the participants to only around a fifth of them. From this we might say that the understanding implied by *I would probably include*, i.e. that the speaker has put herself in the hearer's place, considered all possible options available and from this drawn a conclusion, is maintained for this text, but rather in the shape of an open proposal. The question then arises of what exactly is the function of *why* in this connection and what the native speakers' comprehension might tell us about this.

The fact that *but why don't you include* is comprehended mainly as a Suggestion by the native speakers is perhaps not surprising given that its linguistic formulation fits the standard phrasing of this according to Wierzbicka (1987, p. 181), but exactly why it is able to work this way may be clearer if we paraphrase the native speakers' comprehension. The problem situation that the speaker experiences is that the paper is alright, but better if more details were added to section 1. As mentioned, just as the text with *I would probably include*, the fact that the native speakers understand this as a Suggestion indicates that they understand that based on her experience of the paper as better with details, the speaker has put herself in the hearer's place and considered all possible options as to why not include details, but found none. The possible solution to this problem, then, is *you include more details in section one*. The naming of this as a question with *why* reflects the speaker's wondering about her experience, i.e. that the hearer did not include details although there were no reasons not to do so. The paraphrase would then read: *but I wonder: you did not include details.* However, the formulation of the question with *why* indicates that *but I wonder: you did not include details* builds on the assumption that the hearer was in fact able to do so and still is and most likely without much effort. By framing the question in the present tense, this assumption is highlighted, which stimulates the hearer. In other words, the paraphrase for *but why don't you include* at the stage of framing would be ***I wonder****: you did not include details. But* ***I assume you are able to do so without much effort****, so* ***my open proposal*** *is that you include more details in Section 1*, where *I wonder* in combination with *I assume you are able to do so without much effort* expresses the function of *why* and *my open proposal* highlights the function of the interrogative, i.e. to present the solution as an open proposal. In other words, the comprehension of the text as a polite or neutral Suggestion which requires changes comes from the hearer understanding that the speaker assumes she is both able and willing to do so and that it can be done without much effort.

The native speakers' answers showed that the text was evaluated as mainly Polite or Neutral, and this may be explained by looking at the function of *but*. As with the other texts, *but* indicates a contrast between the two sentences connected by it, and this contrast may be perceived both negatively as a form of Sanction (i.e. if you do not include details, the paper will not be alright) or positively as a type of Compensation (i.e. if you include details, the paper will be (even) better). In this case, the comprehension of the native speakers in relation to the Politeness Evaluation suggests that *but* and the contrast indicated by it is taken positively as a form of Compensation. In other words, the paraphrase ***I wonder****: you did not include details. But I assume you are able*

*to do so without much effort, so my open proposal is that you include more details in Section 1* may be said to include an implicit set of Obedience Conditions in form of a Compensation, i.e. *if you include details, the paper will be even better*. The implicit set of Obedience Conditions work both to help the hearer anchor the open proposal leading to its acceptance but also to ensure that this is done in a manner which is felt to be Polite or Neutral rather than Rude.

The fact that it is not evaluated as Rude by the vast majority of the native speakers suggests that they find no element of blame or reproach in the formulation. It could be that they understand *why* to indicate genuine wonder from the speaker as a symptom of her experience of putting herself in the hearer's place, experiencing that the paper may be better with more details, going through all possible reasons as to why not include details, including in these the hearer's capability to do so and willingness to do so, but ending up finding none. The native speakers understand that this wonder is then framed with *why* to form a Suggestion which serves almost as a reminder of something that the student would think of herself and will also be able to do without much effort. In other words, this framing is understood as signalling that there are no obstacles, thus motivating the student to carry out the changes.

### 9.7.2. The non-native speakers of English

Moving to the comprehension of the non-native speakers, we see that whereas *why don't you include* was quite similar to *I would probably* include for the native speakers of English, for the non-native speakers of English the formulation changes their comprehension more. In terms of Politeness Evaluation, as may be seen from figure 40 below, both the Japanese and the Chinese speakers of English have switched (back) to a majority for neutral as seen from the figure below, whilst the Russian speakers of English maintain a majority for Polite.

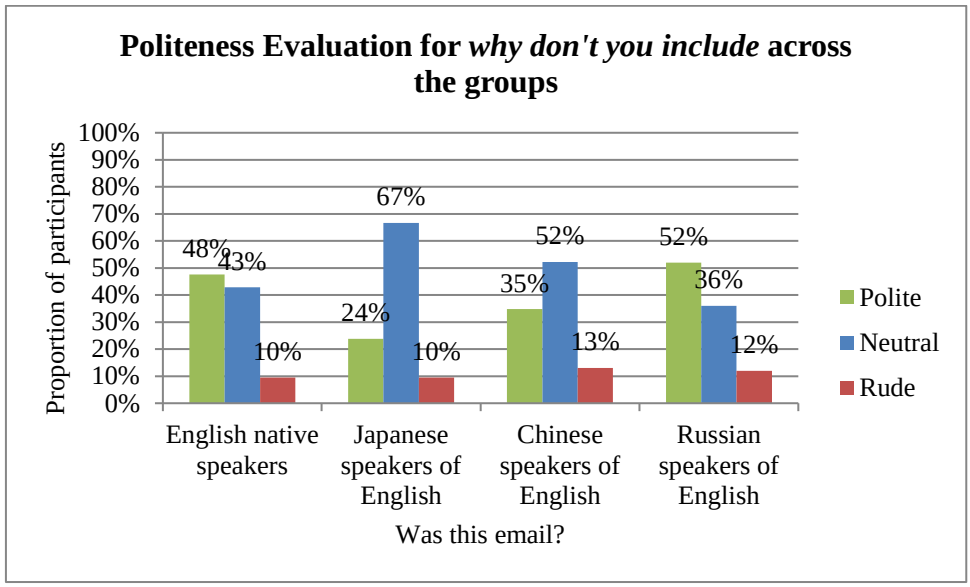


*Figure 40 Overview of the Politeness Evaluation for 'why don't you include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The Politeness Evaluation for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

For the Japanese speakers of English, this takes them back along the same lines as *perhaps include*, *you should include* and *it needs to have*, which were all evaluated mainly neutral. There is still, however, a larger portion of selections for Polite for this text compared to the hedged imperative and the two declaratives. For the Chinese speakers of English, this is the first and in fact only text which yields a majority for Neutral, although still in combination with around a third for Polite. Interestingly, all groups, including native speakers, show a small selection of Rude as well. This pattern of a small selection of Rude has been present for all texts except the previous with *I would probably include*, which for the non-native speakers is the only text with no selections of Rude at all.

The Russian speakers of English are different from the Japanese and the Chinese speakers of English as they show a majority for Polite rather than Neutral. In that sense, they are more similar to the native speakers of English. Looking at their selections of Intention, however, the Russian speakers of English are no longer similar to the native speakers, whereas the Chinese and especially the Japanese speakers of English show quite similar responses. As figure 41below shows, Suggestion is by far the most selected category for both the Japanese and the Chinese speakers of English, followed by Piece of Advice and Request.

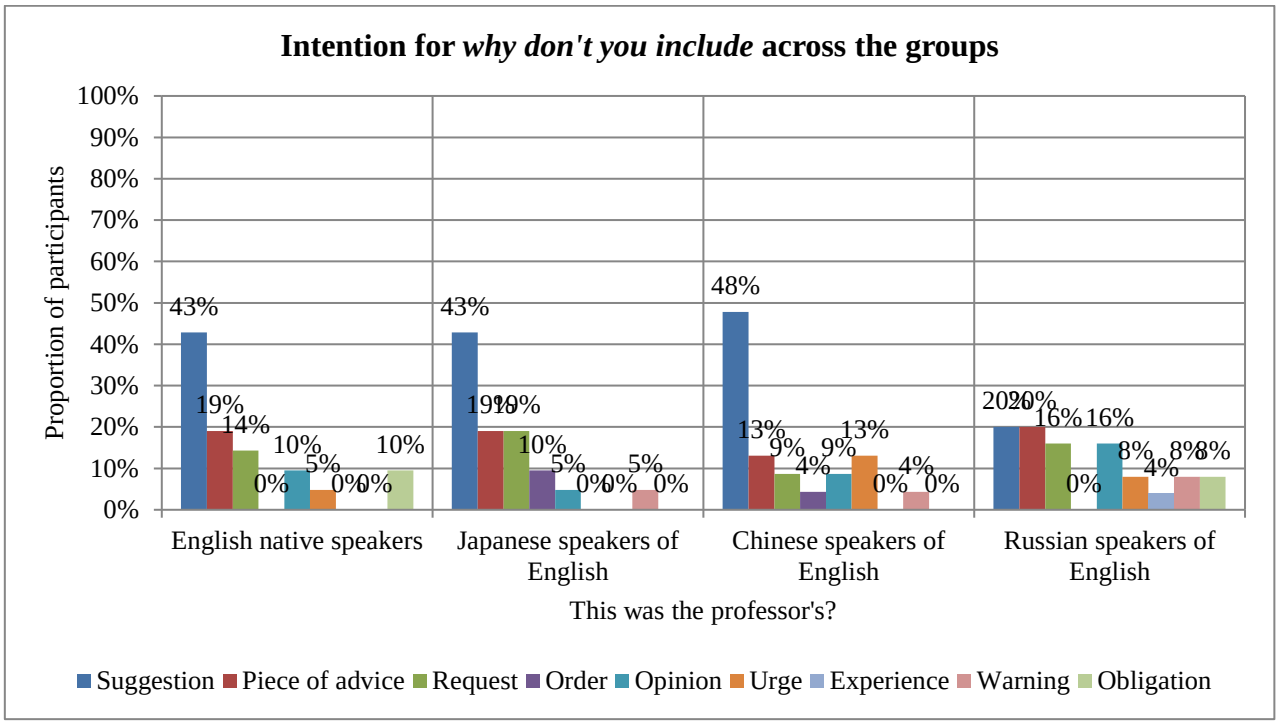


*Figure 41 Overview of the interpretation of Intention for 'why don't you include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The interpretation of Intention for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

For the Japanese speakers of English, this is the only text in which Request is not the main Intention, aside from the previous text with *I would probably include* which showed almost the same amount of selections for both Suggestion, Request and Opinion. Furthermore, this text sees a larger group of selections than what the Japanese speakers of English have shown otherwise. It would seem that the negated interrogative construction is perhaps more clear to them in terms of interpreting the speaker's intention behind it. We did see some of the same tendency, i.e. a larger clustering, for the text with *it needs to have* and *you should include*, but in both instances for Request. In other words, the *why don't you include* construction is the only linguistic construction that is interpreted mainly as a Suggestion.

For the Chinese speakers of English, Suggestion is as mentioned also by far the most selected Intention and this makes it similar to their interpretation of *it needs to have*. However, whereas *it needs to have* also showed a rather large selection of Piece of Advice, the remaining selections for *why don't you include* are spread out quite a lot for the Chinese speakers of English, including a few selections of Urge. About half of the participants that selected Suggestion for this text did the same for *it needs to have*, however not necessarily in combination with the same Politeness Evaluation or Willingness to Change. In fact, as seen from figure 42 below, in relation to the

Willingness to Change, this text sees a lot of selections of Perhaps Change, even a few more than the text with *it needs to have* did.

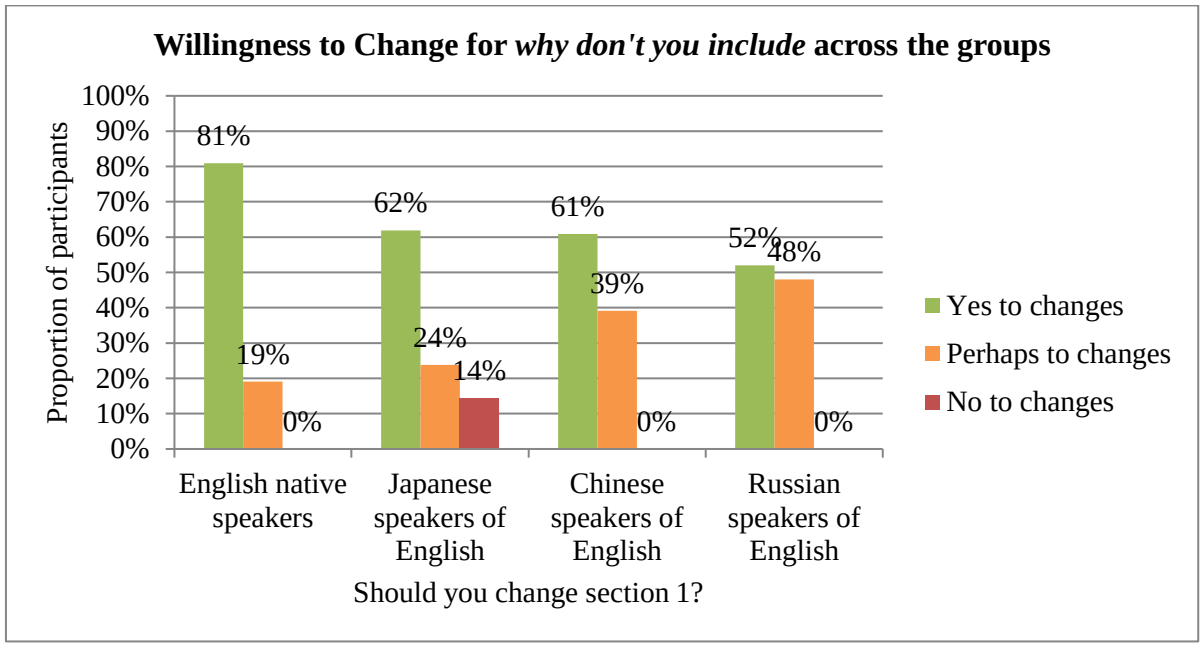


*Figure 42 Overview of the Willingness to Change for 'why don't you include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The Willingness to Change for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

The Russian speakers of English also show a lot of selections of Perhaps Change, in fact they divide almost equally between Change and Perhaps Change. As seen from figure 41, the interpretations of Intention from the Russian speakers of English spread out a lot, meaning almost all possibilities are selected and only in small numbers. All selected Intentions seem to combine equally with Change and Perhaps Change, except the few selections of Obligation, which combine only Change. The fact that the Russian speakers of English spread out a lot in terms of Intention makes this text similar to their comprehension of *it needs to have*, which in fact also showed a majority in favour of Polite in terms of Politeness Evaluation as does this text. However, whereas *it needs to have* showed mainly a positive Willingness to Change, i.e. a large majority in favour of Change, this text shows almost half/half for Change and Perhaps Change.

The text sees the Japanese speakers of English return to their more usual pattern, so to speak, in terms of Willingness to Change, i.e. a majority for Change, but still quite a few selections of both Perhaps Change and even Don't Change. The fact that the Japanese speakers select Don't Change

makes them stand out from the rest of the non-native speakers and the native speakers as well, even though the numbers are small.

### 9.7.3. Summing up on *why don't you include* – Relating the non-native speakers' comprehension to the paraphrased comprehension of the native speakers

If we compare the comprehension of the non-native speakers to the paraphrased prototypical comprehension of the native speakers, we might be able to see where and why they are similar and different in their process of comprehension. For the native speakers of English, the text with *why don't you include* was comprehended mainly as a Polite or Neutral Suggestion requiring subsequent changes. Compared to the linguistic formulation of the text, this was paraphrased into the following: ***I wonder****: you did not include details. But* ***I assume you are able to do so without much effort****, so* ***my open proposal*** *is that you include more details in Section 1*, which may be said to include an implicit set of Obedience Conditions in the form of a Compensation, i.e. *if you include details, the paper will be even better*. The implicit set of Obedience Conditions helped the hearer anchor the open proposal leading to its acceptance but also to ensure that this was felt to be Polite or Neutral rather than Rude.

The interpretation of the Intention as a Suggestion showed that the native speakers comprehended this as a conclusion, stemming from the speaker's world of beliefs. The fact that the Suggestion was mainly Polite and Neutral and not Rude, showed that they didn't interpret the texts as expressing any blame or reproach, but rather that they understood *why* to indicate genuine wonder from the speaker as a symptom of her experience of putting herself in the hearer's place and finding no reasons not to include details, including that the hearer was both willing and capable of doing. This framing was understood by the native speakers as signalling that there were in fact no obstacles which motivated them to make changes.

The Chinese and Japanese speakers of English were similar to the native speakers in that they comprehended the Intention behind mainly as a Suggestion, which could indicate that like the native speakers they understood this as stemming from the speaker's world of beliefs. What is interesting, though, is the fact that unlike the native speakers, both the Japanese and especially the Chinese speakers of English show a fair amount of selections of Perhaps Change and even Don't Change in combination with Suggestion. This suggests that at least for these native speakers,

although they might have understood the directive as a symptom of the speaker's experience, they did not necessarily understand it to signal no obstacles.

The Russian speakers of English did not group around Suggestion as the main Intention, but instead spread out a lot more, mainly around Suggestion, Piece of Advice, Request and Opinion. In addition, they showed an even greater number of selection for Perhaps Change. This seems to indicate that some of them did not comprehend the directive as a symptom of the speaker's world of beliefs, and a lot of them, almost half, did not understand the formulation *why don't you include* as a signal of no obstacles and thereby to implement changes.

In other words, though there are certain similarities in comprehension between the groups, there are also differences which indicate that although non-native speakers may reach the first meeting point, the physical point of contact, i.e. they may form a similar comprehension *of* the words and the sentence, their journey of comprehension seem to sometimes take them to another second meeting point than the native speakers, i.e. their mental meeting point is not the same and they do not form the same understanding of the meaning *behind* the words and the sentence. Taken together this suggests that for some of the non-native speakers their overall understanding is different from that of the native speakers.

## 9.8. Analysing the text with *couldn't you include*

The last of the texts within in this area that the participants meet is also formulated as a negated interrogative, but this time in connection with the modal verb *could*. The participants' reaction to this text is interesting across all groups. Especially the native speakers show a very different comprehension for this text compared to the other text, but also the non-native speakers vary in their comprehension of this text compared to the others.

### 9.8.1. The native speakers of English

For the native speakers of English, the text with *couldn't you include* stands out a lot from the rest, not so much in terms of the Willingness to Change, but greatly in terms of the Politeness Evaluation and the interpretation of Intention.

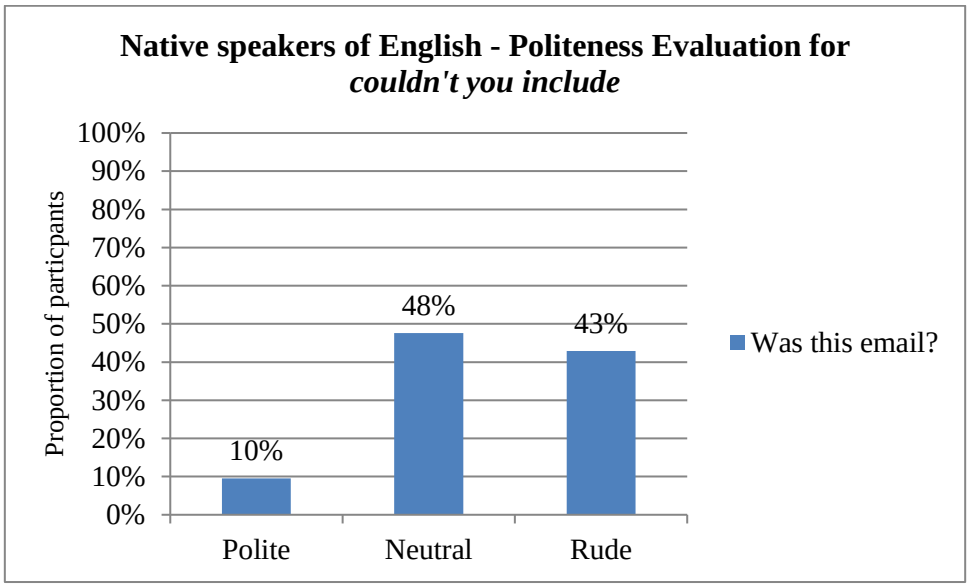


*Figure 43 Overview of the Politeness Evaluation of 'couldn't you include' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

As figure 43 above shows, the Politeness Evaluation for *couldn't you include* is divided between Neutral and Rude with a few selections of Polite as well. This is the first and only text that shows such a large selection for Rude. It seems that for just above half of the participants, *couldn't you include* is just neutral or even positive, but for some reason the remaining 40% of the native speakers perceive the text as Rude. Since this was hardly the case with the previous text, *why don't you*, which was also formulated as a negated interrogative, it seems that there is something in the negation of the modal verb *could* which may be interpreted either Neutral or in fact slightly offensive or Rude. On its own *could* expresses possibility, i.e. it indicates that someone knew how to do something and therefore was also able to do something, alternatively it may indicate permission (Can, n.d.). It just may be that for little under half of the participants the negation of their possibility or ability to include details is perhaps considered to be an indirect criticism or blame, and this is found to be rude.

If we consider their interpretation of the Intention, this text is also different from the rest as the participants spread out a lot and group only in very small numbers as seen from figure 44 below.

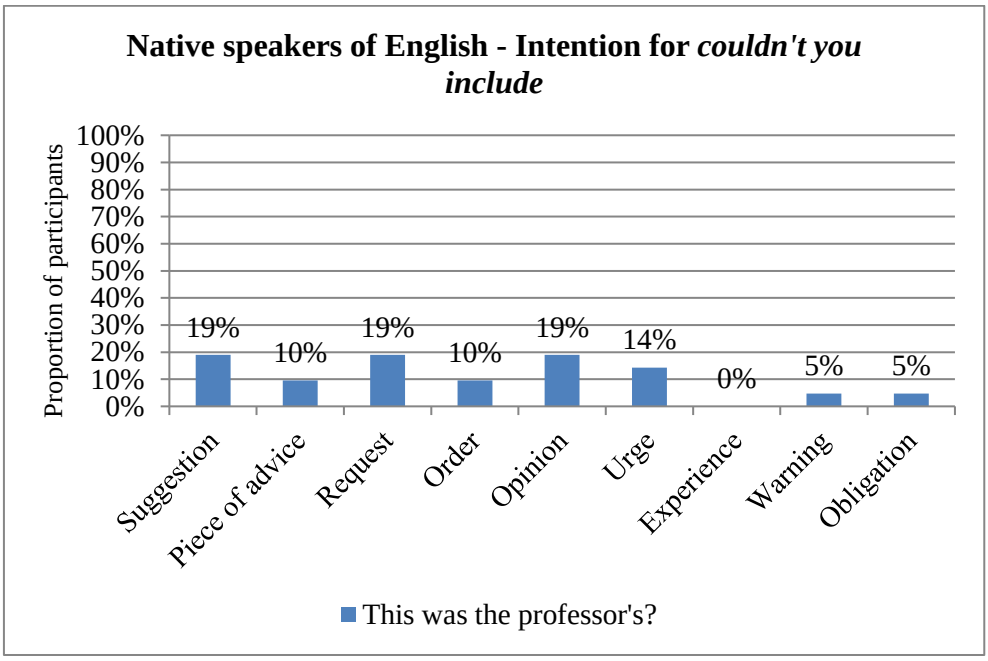


*Figure 44 Overview of the interpretation of Intention of 'couldn't you include' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

The only other text which sees the same pattern is *it needs to have*, and even though the participants also spread out over all nine possible Intentions, the grouping was still larger in numbers compared to this. In fact, this is the only of the texts for the non-native speakers in which the main Intention is not Suggestion, but where Request and Opinion receive the same amount of selections. Interestingly, when comparing their selections of Intention with their evaluations of Politeness, no clear pattern emerges. That it almost all selected Intentions are equally combined with Neutral or Rude. The only exceptions are Suggestion, which is only found in combination with Polite or Neutral and Opinion, which on the other hand is found mainly in combination with Rude (although also one selection of Neutral). The two selections of Order are also combined with Rude. In other words, it would seem that if the text is interpreted as the professor's Suggestion, then it is simply perceived as Neutral or Rude. On the other hand, if it is interpreted as the professor's Opinion or Order, then it is most likely considered Rude. This does lend some support to the hypothesis that the negated *could* in the interrogative construction may be considered by some as an indirect criticism or blame.

As with the previous texts, the Willingness to Change (see figure 45 below) for the native speakers is predominantly in favour of Change, regardless of their interpretation of Intention and Politeness

Evaluation. However, the few selections of Perhaps Change and Don't Change are interestingly found with Suggestion (regardless of being perceived as Neutral or Polite), and with Opinion (when Politeness Evaluation is Rude).

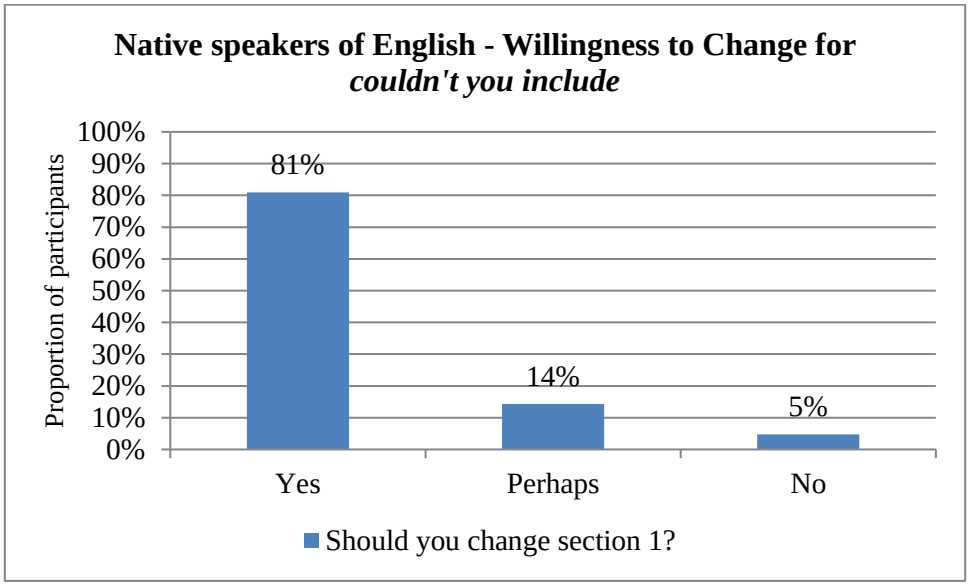


*Figure 45 Overview of the Willingness to Change for 'couldn't you include' by the native speakers of English. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

In other words, although we do see a few selections of Perhaps Change or Don't Change for this text, by far the greatest majority of the native speakers would make subsequent changes no matter how they perceive the text in terms of Politeness or which interpretation of Intention they make.

#### *9.8.1.1. Paraphrasing the native speakers' comprehension of the text*

As the discussion of the results above shows, the last of the interrogative texts leaves the native speakers quite divided, both in terms of Intention where they spread out a lot, but especially when it comes to the Politeness Evaluation, which sees almost a half-half split between Neutral and Rude. This is the first and only text with a large selection of Rude and interestingly these seem to combine with all selected Intentions, except for Suggestion. As mentioned, there is a chance that for those of the participants who found the text to be rude, the negation of their possibility and hence ability to include details was perceived as an indirect criticism or blame. By paraphrasing the comprehension of the native speakers according to the Pragmatic Wheel and the elements of Satisfaction Conditions and Obedience Conditions, it may be possible to shed some light on the question of why.

This is no easy task, however, since there is no real majority for anything, except of course the Willingness to Change. In itself, this lack of agreement both regarding the Politeness Evaluation but also in the interpretation of Intention is interesting. It indicates that the text is ambiguous and that the comprehension of it complex and highly individual. The native speakers are divided in their Politeness Evaluation, united in their Willingness to Change and somewhat scattered in their interpretation of Intention. I will therefore focus my paraphrasing on how it is possible for the same linguistic formulation to divide them in terms of Politeness, but unite them in terms of Willingness to Change. Since the main selections for Intention are Suggestion and Opinion, each with a different preference for Politeness Evaluation, for the paraphrasing I shall take my starting point in two different prototypical comprehensions, so to speak. One is the comprehension of the text as a Neutral (or Polite) Suggestion which requires changes and the other is the comprehension of the text as a Rude Opinion which also requires changes. I will include the remaining interpretations of Intentions in the discussion of these, depending on how they combine with the Politeness Evaluation.

Let us first consider the comprehension of *it's alright but couldn't you include more details in section 1* as a Neutral Suggestion which requires changes. As mentioned, the interrogative functions as an open proposal to a solution. The problem which the speaker experiences is that the paper is alright, but better if more details were added to section 1. The possible solution to this problem, then, is *you include more details in section one*. The naming of this as a question reflects the speaker's wondering about her experience, i.e. the paraphrase would then read: *I wonder: you did not include details, but you could include details*. In other words, the speaker experiences that the hearer did not include details and wonders if the hearer was not able to do so for some reason. The question is an expression of the speaker' wondering about this. When this is framed keeping the negation falls on *could*, and the speaker then implies *now you can*. The paraphrase then reads: *it is alright, but I experience: you did not include details, so* ***I wonder and suggest as an open proposal*** *at the same time: could you now*.

Since it was comprehended a Neutral Suggestion, this indicates that these native speakers understand it as coming from the speaker's world of beliefs, i.e. they make use of their extended comprehension of naming from the Communication Process. And as this Suggestion was Neutral or Even Polite, it seems that they by comprehending it as stemming from the speaker's world of beliefs, also focus on positive aspect of this, i.e. that they are now able to do so, as opposed to

what they did not do. The same may be said, to some extent, for those native speakers who comprehended the text as a Neutral Urge/Request or Piece of Advice, i.e. they all understood it as stemming from the speaker's world of beliefs and therefore as an Urge/Request/Piece of Advice of what they are now able to do (rather than a criticism of what they did not do).

The Willingness to Change is mainly in favour of Change (but Perhaps Change is also possible) indicating that the native speakers have clearly understood the utterance as a signal to act. As with the previous text, it is possible that the contrast indicated by *but* functions as a type of Obedience Condition by which the speaker guides the hearer as to how exactly to act, i.e. a more specified model for the hearer to follow. Considering that the text for these participants is interpreted as a Neutral Suggestion, the Obedience Conditions would most likely be in the positive form, i.e. as a Compensation along the lines *if you include more details, the paper will be (even) better*. The same goes for those participants who comprehended the text as a Neutral Urge/Request/Piece of Advice requiring changes, i.e. the Obedience Conditions indicated by the contrast in *but* are also in the shape of a Compensation. You could argue that for those participants who consider the text to be a Neutral Warning or Obligation requiring changes, the set of Obedience Conditions would more likely be in the shape of a Sanction, i.e. *if you do not include more details the paper will not be alright*. However, since both these participants find the text to be neutral, unlike those who interpret it as an Order, we might also consider the contrast indicated by *but* to be not an expression of a negative set of Obedience Conditions, but rather a more neutral one, exactly as a Warning or even Service Info along the lines *if the text is to be alright you need to include more details*. In other words, the paraphrase for those of the native speakers who comprehended the text as a Netural Suggestion implying changes would be: *it is alright, but I experience: you did not include details, so I wonder and suggest (/urge/advise/request) as an open proposal: could you now and if you do so, the paper will be better*.

For those native speakers who comprehended the text as a Rude Opinion requiring changes, however, especially their Politeness Evaluation in combination with the interpreted Intention highlights another possible way of understanding the text which just might be based on their understanding of from where in the speaker's mental universe the utterance stems. Considering that their Willingness to Change is the same, i.e. in favour of Changes, they clearly understand the signal of the utterance to be the same, i.e. to make changes. Yet if we consider their Politeness Evaluation, it may be that in terms of comprehending the Obedience Conditions, they see the

contrast indicated by *but* as expressing a lack, i.e. the Obedience Conditions are in the shape of a Sanction along the lines *if you do not include more details, the paper will not be alright*. This makes sense also for those participants who interpret the Intention as a Rude Order. Their selection of Order highlights this type of Obedience Conditions.

The question is why they would consider the contrast to be negative and not positive, and the answer to this might be found by looking at their interpretation of Intention. Their choice of Opinion could indicate that they understand the text as stemming from the speaker's world of opinions and not the world of beliefs. In other words, if the paraphrase reads: *it is alright, but I wonder why you did not include details since you could. I state as my opinion: you include.* This could indeed yield a reading of implicit criticism or blame which may be perceived as rude, since the comprehension of it as stemming from the speaker's world of opinion would emphasise the first element of the paraphrase, i.e. what the hearer did not do and speaker's wonder about if the hearer was not capable of doing so. This in combination with a comprehension of the Obedience Conditions as a Sanction would give the following paraphrase: *it is alright, but I wonder why you did not include details since you could. I state as my opinion: you include. If you do not include details, the paper will not be alright*.

In other words, though the text with *couldn't you* in many ways divide the native speakers, there are still some common points to their comprehension when we analyse it according to the process of directives and the Pragmatic Wheel. What seems to create the main difference between Neutral and Rude in terms of Politeness Evaluation is the understanding that the participants make from where in the speaker's mental universe the utterance stems. Considering the differences in comprehension that this text creates with the native speaker, it is even more interesting to see how the non-native speakers react.

### 9.8.2. The non-native speakers of English

The text with *couldn't you include* leaves a strong impression on the non-native speakers as well. However, they are different in terms of comprehension from both the native speakers of English but also between the groups, both when it comes to the Politeness Evaluation and the interpretation of Intention, but, rather interestingly, less so when it comes to the Willingness to Change.

Looking at the Politeness Evaluation for *couldn't you include* it is quite interesting that for the Japanese speakers of English and especially the Russian speakers of English, the text is mainly perceived as polite, whereas for the Chinese speakers of English, the text is mainly Rude, as seen from figure 46 below.

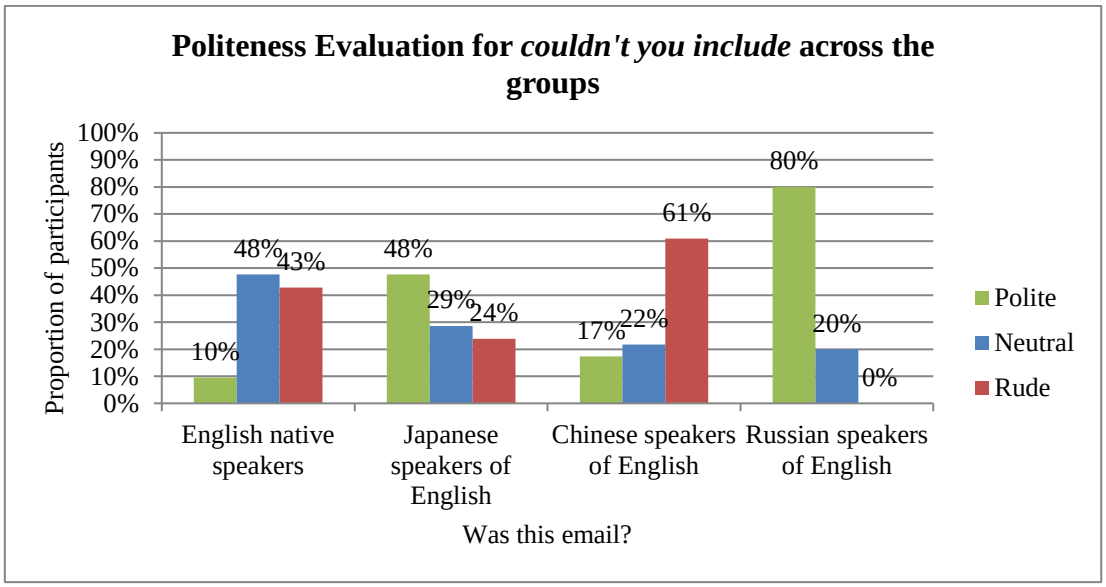


*Figure 46 Overview of the Politeness Evaluation for 'couldn't you include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The Politeness Evaluation for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

If we look at the Japanese speakers of English, there are still quite a few selections of Rude, meaning that also for the Japanese speakers of English, this text may be perceived as both Polite, Neutral and Rude. If we compare their Politeness Evaluations with their interpretations of Intention, seen from figure 47 below, the Japanese speakers of English group mostly around Request but otherwise are spread out a lot. It is interesting that Rude is only found in combination with Order and Opinion. In fact four of the five selections of Order are in combination with Rude (the last is Polite) and both selections of Opinion are in combination with Rude. Interestingly, the Rude Orders are combined mainly with Yes to changes, except for one No to changes (JPN1) which has kept this selection of Willingness to Change for all texts, whereas the Rude Opinions are both combined with Perhaps Change. As for Request and Suggestion, these are found only in combination with Polite and Neutral as Politeness Evaluation and mainly with a positive Willingness to Change, i.e. Change. In other words, for the Japanese speakers of English when the text was interpreted as Order or Opinion it was considered Rude, whereas for the majority of

Japanese speakers who interpreted it as a Request, it was Polite or Neutral. Regardless, they show an overall preference for Change, though still with a few Perhaps Change.

The Russian speakers of English show an overwhelming majority for Polite in relation to the Politeness Evaluation; in fact this is the largest majority for Polite for all texts. Interestingly, *couldn't you include* also shows their largest grouping in terms of Intention, over half of the participants selected Request as seen in figure 47 below.

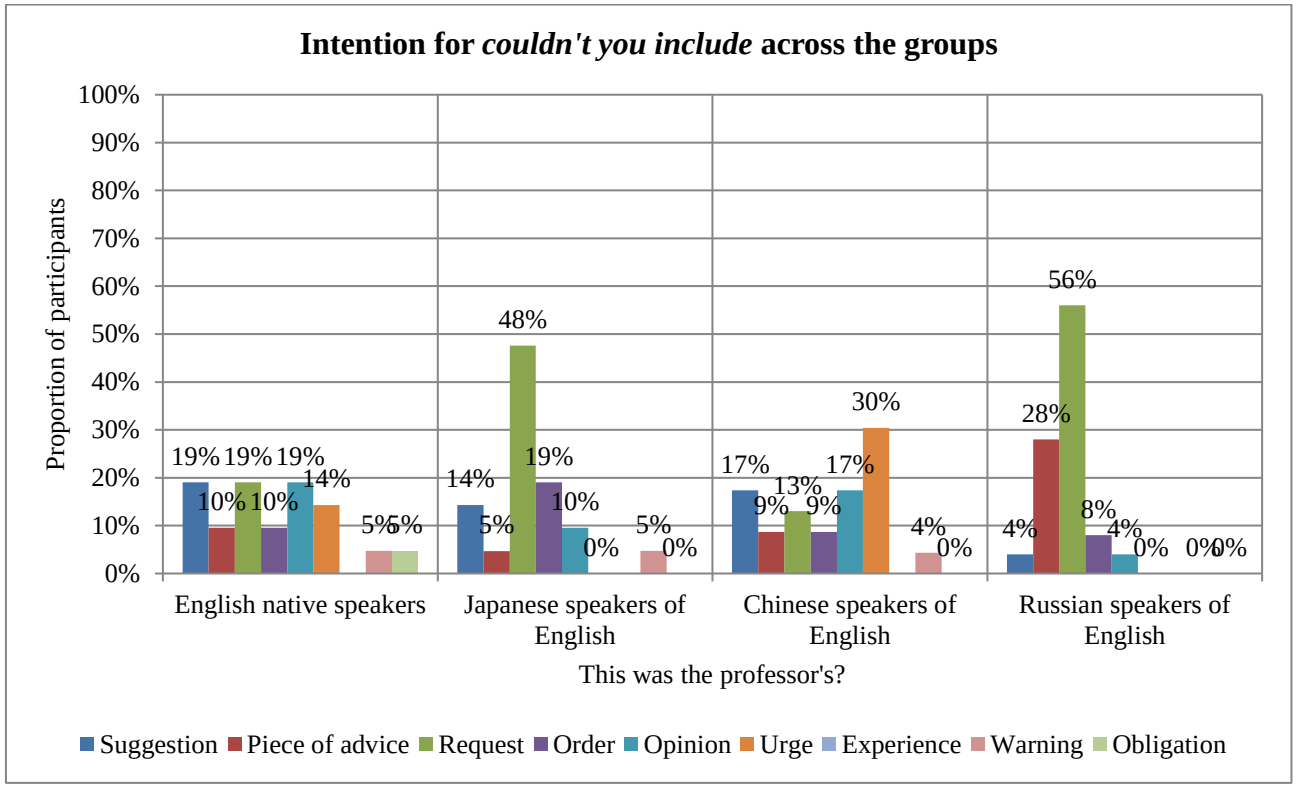


*Figure 47 Overview of the interpretation of Intention for 'couldn't you include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The interpretation of Intention for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

The large selection of Request for the Russian speakers of English not only makes this the text with the most selections for Request compared to the other texts, but it is also the largest grouping of any Intention throughout the texts, and together with the hedged imperative *perhaps include* this is the text which sees the participants spread out the least, i.e. grouping around only five intentions. The text also shows a great majority in favour of Yes to changes (see figure 48 below), in fact even larger than for *you should include* and *it needs to have*. In other words, it would seem

that in terms of both Politeness Evaluation, Intention and also Willingness to Change, *couldn't you include* is comprehended quite uniform or clear for the Russian speakers of English.

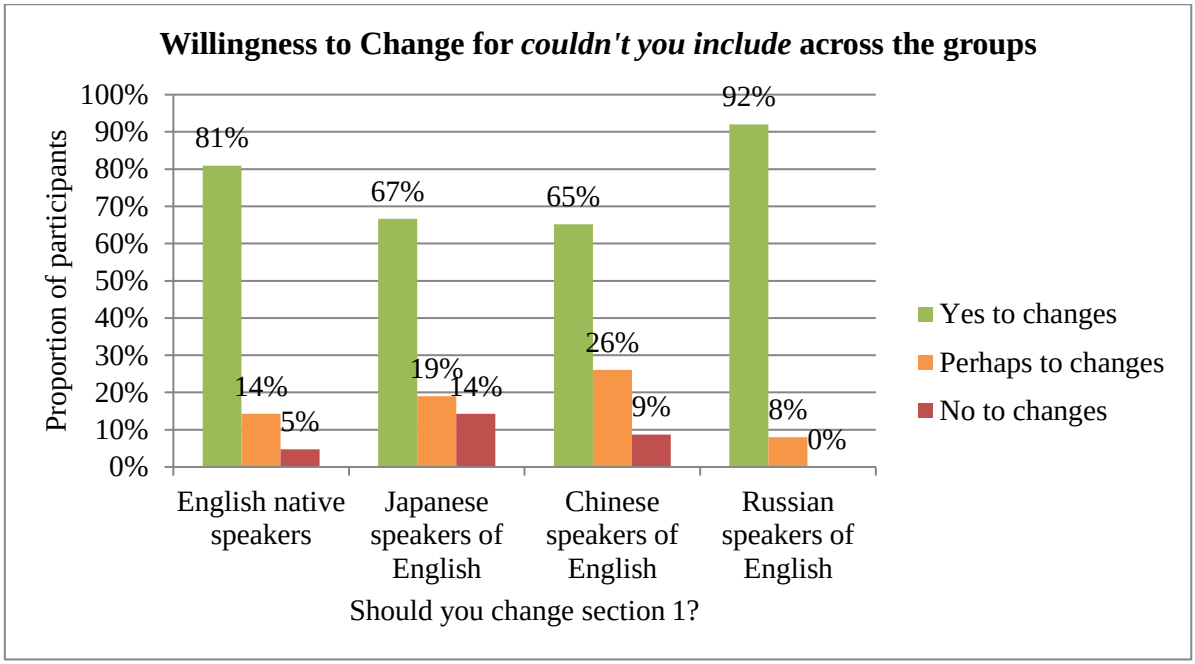


*Figure 48 Overview of the Willingness to Change for 'couldn't you include' for the non-native speakers of English according to group. The Willingness to Change for the native speakers is included for ease of comparison. Numbers of participants selecting a given answer are presented as percentages for ease of comparison across groups, as the different groups have slightly different numbers of participants.*

For the Chinese speakers of English, however, the picture is another. As we saw in figure 46, the Politeness Evaluation is dominated by Rude. This is the only text which shows this pattern. Furthermore, as can be seen from figure 47, the Chinese participants spread out a lot in terms of Intention with the largest grouping for Urge followed by Opinion and Suggestion. The previous text, *why don't you include*, also made them spread out over a many different Intentions, but still showed a much stronger preference for one Intention (Suggestion). Looking at how the different Intentions relate to the Politeness Evaluations, it is not surprising perhaps that Rude combine with almost all selected Intention, except for Suggestion and Piece of Advice which combine mainly with Polite or Neutral. Whereas the last text with *why don't you include* also yielded a few selections of Urge, this is the first of the texts to have Urge as the main Intention for the Chinese speakers of English. However, keeping with the pattern from the previous text, Urge is in this text also mostly combined with Perhaps to changes, though the overall trend for Willingness to Change is in favour of Yes to changes (see figure 48 above). There is still, though, a noticeable amount of selections for Perhaps or even No to changes, and these are found mainly with Opinion and as mentioned Urge.

### 9.8.3. Summing up on *couldn't you include* – Relating the non-native speakers' comprehension to the paraphrased comprehension of the native speakers

Perhaps we might sum up on the differences and similarities in comprehension of the non-native speakers for this text by comparing it to how the native speakers' comprehension was analysed and paraphrased. As mentioned the native speakers were somewhat divided in their comprehension for *couldn't you include more details*, especially in their Politeness Evaluation. I therefore divided the paraphrasing of their prototypical comprehension accordingly, meaning that one was based on their comprehension of the text as a Neutral Suggestion requiring changes and the other as a Rude Opinion also requiring changes. This yielded the following paraphrases: *it is alright, but I experience: you did not include details, so* ***I wonder and suggest as an open proposal*** *at the same time: could you now and if you do so, the paper will be better* and *it is alright, but I wonder why you did not include details since you could. I state as my opinion: you include. If you do not include details, the paper will not be alright*, respectively. Whereas the comprehension of the native speakers showed that the first was understood as stemming from the speaker's world of beliefs, i.e. a result of elaborate process of naming from the Communication Process and therefore evaluated Neutral (or Polite), the latter was comprehended as originating from the speaker's world of opinions and as a result evaluated as Rude.

The most noticeable contrast to this comprehension, or these two kinds of comprehension, was found with the Russian speakers of English, who differed not only in their large degree of uniformity (compared to the heterogeneity of the answers from the native speakers), but also in clearly preferring a positive reading of the text as a Polite Request requiring changes. Without jumping to any conclusions regarding transfer, as I do not have the mother tongue data to back it, it does deserve a mention that the formulation of the English text bears great resemblance to a similar formulation in Russian, also negated past tense in the subjunctive mood and in the shape of an interrogative, which is the prototypical formulation of a polite request. There is a real possibility that the fact that they are used to this formulation in their mother tongue guides their comprehension in English as a sort of autopilot mode almost. Or in other words, because the utterance as the first meeting point between speaker and hearer, the physical point of contact, is so similar to what they are used to in their mother tongue, the journey they make from here resembles the one they would make in their mother tongue and not in English. This means that the second meeting point they reach, the mental point of contact, which forms their full understanding, is another than that of the native English speakers.

The Japanese speakers of English also show a majority for understanding the text as a Polite Request requiring changes, however in less convincing numbers than the Russian speakers of English, and still with a fourth of the participants comprehending it not as a Polite Request, but rather as a Rude Order or Rude Opinion. Except for the two selections of Rude Opinion, the majority of the Japanese speakers of English still understand the text as requiring changes, regardless of whether they perceive it as a Request, an Order or a Suggestion. In that sense, i.e. when considering the Willingness to Change, they are quite aligned with the native speakers, though not in the same numbers, which indicates that they clearly understand the text as a signal to make changes. Whether they understand it as a symptom of the speaker's experience stemming from her world of beliefs is not safe to conclude based on their comprehension. Overall they favour Request as the Intention behind, suggesting perhaps that they understand it merely as a symptom of the speaker's experience of a possible solution to a problem, hence the Request, but not necessarily as the elaborated understanding of a symptom of the speakers experience grounded in the naming process of the English Communication Process. In other words, though they reach the same physical meeting point – form the same basic comprehension of the utterance – as the native speakers of English, i.e. as a signal to change, whether they reach the same full understanding – the mental meeting point as the native speakers of English is difficult to say.

The Chinese speakers of English are different than both the Russian and the Japanese speakers of English in that they show a majority for a Rude Politeness Evaluation. This comprehension aligns more with the second type of comprehension of the native speakers, i.e. with those who interpreted the text as a Rude Opinion. However, contrary to the native speakers of English, the Chinese speakers of English interpret the text mainly as a Rude Urge and this combines not with a positive Willingness to Change, but rather with Perhaps Change, even though the overall majority across Intentions for the Chinese speakers of English is still in favour of making changes. In other words, it may be that like some of the non-native speakers, a great amount of the Chinese speakers of English also emphasise the first part of the paraphrasing, i.e. *I experience you did not, so I wonder: could you not,* as a form of implicit blame of criticism. However, where the native speakers saw this as stemming from the speaker's world of opinions as a type of judgement, the Chinese speakers see it as a symptom of a sudden Urge with the speaker, and interestingly this seems to affect their understanding of the signal as meaning only Perhaps Change and not Change. And the same was the case for those Chinese speakers of English who considered the text a symptom of

the speaker's Opinion, whereas those who interpreted the Intention as a Suggestion, Request or Piece of Advice all understood the text as requiring changes.

In other words, the text with *couldn't you include* creates a great reaction with both native and non-native speakers of English. For the native speakers of English, the text seems to be ambiguous, dividing them in terms of their comprehension between a Neutral Suggestion and a Rude Opinion, but regardless of this they would most likely all make changes. *Could* in itself is ambiguous in that although in the past tense it points both to the past, i.e. a focus on what the hearer did not do, but also to the present, i.e. what the hearer is now able to do. The difference in comprehension for the non-native speakers was explained according to where in the mental universe of the speaker, the participants comprehended the utterance as stemming from and how this related to the pointing of *could*. When they comprehended it as a Neutral Suggestion, they saw *could* as pointing to the present or the future indicating what they are now able to do. However, when they comprehended the text as a Rude Opinion, they understood *could* as pointing mainly to the past, focusing on what they did not do, and as a result it became a form of criticism or blame. In addition to the ambiguity of *could*, there is also the possibility that *you* may in fact be ambiguous. It can mean both the generic *you*, referring to any or all persons, but it may also be a specific *you*, referring specifically to the hearer. For the native speakers who evaluated the text as Rude, it may be that they interpreted the *you* in its specific sense, referring to them personally and thereby enhancing the feeling of the text as a form of blame or reproach.

For the native speakers of English, the text was interestingly less ambiguous but nonetheless yielded different interpretations. The Japanese speakers of English, but especially the Russian speakers of English found it overwhelmingly Polite, whereas the Chinese speakers on the contrary found it to be mainly Rude. In addition hereto, although all three groups displayed a majority in favour of Change, the Russian speakers of English were far more convincing in terms of the majority, whereas the Japanese and especially the Chinese speakers of English still included a rather large group of Perhaps Change or even Don't Change. Taken together this suggests that once again the non-native speakers may reach the same physical point of contact as the native speakers, i.e. form a similar basic comprehension of the text, but their mental point of contact does not seem to be the same, indicating that their full understanding of the text is different from that of the native speakers.

## 9.9. Summing up on the comprehension of the texts from Form of Approaching the Hearer

The analysis of the different texts for the category Form of Approaching the Hearer highlighted many interesting aspects of the comprehension of directives by both native speakers and non-native speakers of English. Common for all texts was the fact that the participants' comprehension seemed to be influenced by individual factors such as the assessment of the context, the interpretation of the relationship between professor and student, etc., in addition to their assessment of the actual linguistic formulation of the directive. Nonetheless, since the context etc. was the same for all texts and their comprehension of the texts still varied from text to text, it seems only reasonable to conclude that their comprehension was indeed affected by the linguistic formulation of the directive, and it was certainly possible to see interesting patterns in the answers of both native and non-native speakers of English.

For each text as prototypical paraphrase of the comprehension of the native speakers was made. This was done to as a way to deepen the understanding of their comprehension by relating it to the theoretical framework of the project, both the overall understanding of comprehension as an integrated part of the communication process, but also to the specific framework of directives with the different sentence forms representing different strategies for the speaker to solve a problem, as illustrated by the Pragmatic Wheel. Especially interesting was the relationship between the language specific communication process, including of course comprehension, on the one hand, and the universal process of directives as different strategies for solving a problem, on the other. Paraphrasing the native speakers' comprehension showed how the language specific communication process seemed to underlie the universal process of directives, in the sense that the native speakers added a greatly elaborated understanding of the process of naming to their overall comprehension of the function of the specific directive as a strategy for solving a problem. This meant that they understood the different texts as stemming from different discourse worlds in the speaker's mental stores, i.e. from the world of beliefs, world of opinions, world of knowledge, and this seemed to affect their full understanding of the texts.

Overall the native speakers and non-native speakers showed many similarities in comprehension, but there were also several differences between the groups. Most noticeably were the differences in their Willingness to Change. In general across the texts, the native speakers showed majority for Change, whereas the non-native speakers varied a lot more between Change and Perhaps Change. The differences in the comprehension of the different text by the native speakers were

perhaps more subtle in nature, but the paraphrasing of their comprehension was able to highlight how the text differed from each other in the native speakers' comprehension. The non-native speakers seemed to vary more in comprehension between texts, suggesting that they were perhaps more affected by the linguistic alterations of the text. Despite the similarities between native speakers and non-native speakers the small differences in their comprehension showed how some non-native speakers formed a full understanding of the texts which was different to that of the native speakers. In other words, though they reached the same physical point of contact, the journey they made from here meant that they reached another mental point of contact than the native speakers.

When viewed together this suggest that comprehension as part of the communication process does seem to affect the comprehension of directives, because the native speakers draw on their elaborate understanding of the process of naming to place from where in the speaker's mental universe the directive stems and the nuances of this seemed to influence their overall comprehension of the directive. The native speakers are able to do so because this is what they are used to doing following the communication process of English as a hearer-oriented language. However, since Japanese and Chinese are speaker-oriented languages, and Russian is a reality-oriented language, they are not used to this because their communication processes are different, and as a consequence their naming processes from the communication process do not emphasise this placement of the utterance in the speaker's mental universe.

# 10. Conclusions

This study formed part of the ongoing GEBCom Project, which investigates the use and understanding of English by non-native speakers of English with the particular interest of understanding the possible influence of the mother tongue on the use and understanding of English. The aim of this specific project was to investigate the comprehension of English texts by non-native speakers of English from Japan, China and Russia, comparing this to the comprehension of the same texts by native speakers of English to see if and if so how the comprehension of the non-native speakers differed from that of the native speakers. Although the initial aim was to investigate texts of 10 different elements, during my process of analysis I narrowed the focus to include only the texts of two different areas, i.e. the comprehension of the disjunctive particle 'or' and the comprehension of directives.

Consistent with the overall GEBCom Project, the theoretical foundation for this dissertation was Durst-Andersen's (2011,2016, to appear) long-time work on communicative supertypes, i.e. the division of languages into reality-oriented, speaker-oriented and hearer-oriented languages and the differences this implies for the communication process in different languages. By understanding language as a system of signs, building on Peirce's trichotomic view of signs as icons, indexes and symbols, the theoretical framework was able to account for how words, through their process of acquisition in our mother tongue as first concrete pictures and then later as generalised image and idea pairs, are able to enter not only our mind but also our body, emphasising the strong connection between language, mind and body in our mother tongue and showing how culture might also affect and be affected by this. To this was added the understanding of grammar as building on a series of indexes, i.e. models, symptoms and signals, which shows why utterances are not symbolic, but rather indexical in their nature, bringing a dynamic perspective into grammar and communication.

Comprehension as the concept of interest for this project was viewed not as an isolated process of the hearer, but rather as an integrated part of the communication process. By understanding comprehension as the hearer's recreation of the journey made by the speaker, but in the opposite order and in her own mind, I was able to account for how speaker and hearer are able to meet not once, but twice in the process of communication. The first meeting point is through the utterance, which we called the physical point of contact, and which forms the hearer's initial and basic

comprehension. The second time speaker and hearer meet is when the hearer in her own mind has backtracked, so to speak, the journey made by the speaker and arrives at the same place the speaker started out. This is called the mental point of contact and this is what allows the hearer to understand the speaker's meaning behind the words, the purport of the message. Together these two meeting points form the hearer's full understanding of the text.

This understanding of comprehension together with the overall understanding of language as a system of signs was supplemented with more concrete theoretical aspects of Durst-Andersen's framework in order to design the test and its elements.

## 10.1. On the method – advantages and limitations

The data for this project was collected using the GEBCom Reception Test, designed for this purpose by me, but in close collaboration with my fellow GEBCom colleagues. The test consisted of 36 relatively short texts all evolving around one out of 10 specific elements from the theoretical framework. The texts were self-composed and answers and questions were in a multiple-choice format. The design was chosen to best encompass the two major concerns I had. The first was the fact that (reading) comprehension is difficult to test directly. When I ask participants how they understand a text or an element herein, they will have to use some sort of production skills to give me an answer. This means than in one way or another, assessing their comprehension will be done through a filter of production. The second concern was that most testing within comprehension is done within the area of SLA, which implies an understanding of comprehension on a plus/minus scale compared to native speakers. As my focus was on possible differences in comprehension, rather than a right-wrong comprehension, the test design would need to be able to allow for differences in comprehension without necessarily forcing them.

I found that a multiple-choice format was best suited for this purpose as it limited the amount of production skills required to provide an answer, which especially for non-native speakers had clear advantages. The downside of a multiple-choice format was of course that it greatly restricted the participants in their answers, meaning that there are no doubt aspects of their comprehension which I did not gain insight into. As for the composition of the texts for the test, the choice was to design these ourselves within the GEBCom Project. Though real life texts have their obvious advantages over composed texts, composing the texts made the most sense since I wanted to test

the comprehension of specific elements of the theoretical framework, and this was best done using self-composed texts.

The data yielded from the test showed that the design was indeed able to give insight into the complex phenomenon that is comprehension in a foreign, yet common, language. It was able to show both similarities and differences in the comprehension of native and non-native speakers on many levels. One of the major drawbacks of this method, however, was the massive amount of data which it generated, and which proved far too much for this study. This meant I had to restrict my area of focus quite a lot and instead of gaining an overall insight into the comprehension of many different elements, I was able to shed some light on only a small area of interest, i.e. the comprehension of 'or' and the comprehension of directives. Had I known from the beginning that my focus would be so restricted, it is quite possible that I would have included other methods for investigating these matters specifically from other angles as well.

## 10.2. On the results – findings and limitations

This study was exploratory and qualitative in nature with the aim to investigate possible differences in the comprehension of English texts by native and non-native speakers of English from Japan, China and Russia. I did not work from a fixed set of hypotheses, but from an overall assumption about language as laid out in the theoretical foundation, whilst still keeping an open mind as to the nature of data and the possible similarities and differences. The analysis of data showed that although the native and non-native speakers showed many similarities in their comprehension, there were also several differences and some with a more profound impact.

### 10.2.1. On the comprehension of 'or'

The analysis of the comprehension of the English disjunctive particle 'or' in a specific setting showed several interesting points. First of all, it was a clear case of what seems to be a grammatical distinction for the native speakers of English, i.e. that 'or' in this context must have an inclusive reading, i.e. meaning both…and rather than either…or. By considering the communication process of English as a hearer-oriented language, it was possible to explain this distinction as indicating information to the hearer. In other words, the use of 'or' was a signal to the hearer with the information that the speaker's experience of the situations behind two elements joined by the disjunction was either stored in different places in the speaker's mental stores or simply had no real match in the speaker's mental stores. In this specific case the reporter, as speaker, had no

pictures in his mental stores with details of either of the murders of the two people and therefore used ‘or’ to signal this. The native speakers clearly understood this signal since all interpreted the disjunctive particle in its inclusive form.

Though all three groups of non-native speakers shared the inclusive reading, a rather large portion of especially the Chinese speakers of English, but also to a lesser extent the Japanese speakers of English, differed from this understanding and favoured an exclusive reading of ‘or’. Though cross-linguistic studies of the use and understanding of disjunction in Chinese and Japanese show that the disjunctive particles are usually used to mean either…or and not both…and, it is not possible to say if the differences in the comprehension of the English ‘or’ were a result of influence from their mother tongue. It did prove, however, that there was no uniform interpretation of ‘or’ in this context, suggesting that the Chinese and Japanese speakers of English do not understand the distinction to be grammaticalised in the English language, at least not in the same way as the native speakers. It does not necessarily work as a signal indicating that the two combined elements (Mrs Hewitt and Dr Gott) are not stored in the same mental storage of the speaker. It may have an inclusive reading, but it may also be read exclusively as meaning that only one person was killed.

The Russian speakers of English resembled the native speakers most clearly in their answers, which was interesting since it contrasted to Lorentzen’s (2016) research on the use of disjunction in Danish and Russian. Taken together with the differences in comprehension of the Chinese and Japanese speakers of English this showed that the process of comprehension in ELF is complex and although it was possible to explain the comprehension of the native speakers according to the English communication process, the differences and similarities in comprehension of the non-native speakers meant that simply concluding that the communication process of the mother tongue is either completely transferred into ELF or completely replaced by the communication process of English would be far too simplistic. Rather it seemed to be a mix, i.e. that part of their comprehension of the English disjunctive particle was similar to that of the native speakers who followed the communication process of English, and part of their comprehension seemed to be influenced by what may be the communication process of their mother tongues.

### 10.2.2. On the comprehension of directives

The comprehension of directives as different forms of approaching the hearer was investigated in six texts, all completely similar in their content and context except for the actual linguistic

formulation of the directive, which was varied both according to sentence form (imperative, declarative and interrogative) and according to the subject of the directive (first person, second person, third person singular). For each text, the participants were asked to evaluate how they considered the text in terms of politeness, which interpretation of Intention they made and how they would react after having read the text. This part of the tests showed several interesting findings.

#### *10.2.2.1. Perhaps include*

The text *it is alright, but perhaps include more details in Section 1* was, based on the comprehension of it by the native speakers as a Neutral Suggestion requiring changes, paraphrased as: *It is alright.* ***In an alternative world*** *(=but) I give my best bid to a solution to what* ***may be*** *(=perhaps) a problem and hereby say: you include more details*. This showed that the native speakers comprehended it as stemming from the speaker's world of beliefs. In other words, *perhaps* was not connected directly to the imperative but functioned as an epistemic marker, meaning that it did not affect their Willingness to Change. For the non-native speakers this was not the case, and especially the Japanese and the Russian speakers of English seemed to interpret *perhaps* as directly modifying the action implied by the imperative, prompting them to select Perhaps Change rather than Change.

#### *10.2.2.2. You should include*

Based on the comprehension of the native speakers of the texts *it is alright, but you should include more details in Section 1* as mainly Neutral, Mainly Suggestion or Piece of Advice and mainly Change, the prototypical paraphrased comprehension read: *it is alright.* ***In an alternative world*** *where I know that you are willing to include more details and that you are able to include more details,* ***I state as my opinion****: you include more details.* ***If you do so, it will be better*** where *but* is included in the paraphrase as *in an alternative world*, and *should* is expressed as *I state as my opinion* in combination with the compensation *if you do so, it will be better*. In other words, the native speakers comprehended the text as stemming from the speaker's world of opinions which, in combination with the contrast indicated by *but* and the consequent compensation, made it function as a Suggestion and still prompted them to make changes. For the non-native speakers the picture was less clear, but there were some differences in the comprehension of especially the Russian and the Chinese speakers of English. Some of the Russian speakers of English interpreted the text as an Order, indicating they viewed the set of Obedience Conditions as negative, i.e. a

type sanction rather than a compensation. Part of the Chinese speakers of English selected Perhaps Change in relation to their Willingness to Change, indicating that they did not necessarily see the declarative as a signal to change, but only as a symptom of the speaker's experience of a potential problem.

#### *10.2.2.3. It needs to have*

The text *it is alright, but it needs more details in Section 1*, was, based on the native speakers' comprehension of the text as a Neutral Suggestion requiring changes, paraphrased into: *it is alright, but as **a teacher with many years of experience in these matters, I know and therefore propose** more details. If you make it so that more details exist in Section 1, the paper will be better (= Obedience Conditions as Compensation) OR of if you do not make it so that more details exist in Section 1, the paper will not be alright (= Obedience Conditions as Sanction in the form of a Warning) OR I hereby make you aware that if you make it so that more details exist in section 1, then the paper will not be experienced as defective (=Obedience Condition as neutral Addendum)*. The paraphrase showed that the native speakers understood the text as stemming from the speaker's world of knowledge, meaning that although they interpreted it as a Suggestion, they would indeed still make changes accordingly. The non-native speakers showed many similarities in their comprehension, but especially the Chinese speakers of English and the Russian speakers of English stood out, each in their own way.

The Chinese speakers of English still included a rather large part (around a third) of participants who selected Perhaps Change, indicating that although they understood that the text is a symptom of the speaker's experience (of reading their paper), the question is if they also understood it as a signal to act or not. Even if they understood it as a signal to act, it seems that they understood the model of *how* to act differently, i.e. as being Perhaps Change rather than Change. The Russian speakers of English spread out so much in terms of interpreting the Intention, even more so than the native speakers, which suggested that although they understood the text as a symptom of the speaker's experience of a problem and indeed understood it as a signal to act and a model of how to act, the English text is vague or ambiguous to them in terms of finding out exactly what the speaker means by it.

#### *10.2.2.4. I would probably include*

Based on the comprehension of the native speakers of the text *it is alright, but I would probably include more details in Section 1* as a polite Suggestion requiring change, the prototypical comprehension of the native speakers was paraphrased as follows: ***From my world of beliefs I conclude****: in* ***an imagined world where I put myself in your place****, I include more details in Section 1*, where *from my world of beliefs I conclude* illustrates the function of *probably* and *in an imagined world where I put myself in your place* is the paraphrase for *would*. The paraphrasing shows why the text is considered polite, namely the fact that the professor has put herself in the place of the student. Their comprehension of this as requiring changes showed that they understood the declarative not only as a symptom of the speaker's experience but also as a signal to act. In other words, they understood it as the speaker implying that her way of acting should serve as the model for the hearer to follow: *if you follow this model, the paper will be better*. However, part of the native speakers understood the text not as a Suggestion requiring changes but rather as an Opinion combined with Perhaps Change, indicating that they did not comprehend the declarative as a signal for the hearer to act but only as a symptom of the speaker's experience. In other words, for those participants the paraphrase would most likely be: *From my world of opinions I say: in an alternative world where I put myself in your place I include more details.*

Although the comprehension of the non-native speakers shared some similarities with that of the native speakers, it also differed a lot. In terms of the interpretation of Intention, especially the Russian and the Chinese speakers of English grouped around Opinion. For all three groups of non-native speakers the selections of Perhaps Change or Don't Change in relation to the Willingness to Change increased, even forming a majority for the Russian and the Japanese speakers of English. The Chinese speakers of English kept a majority for Change, though. Taken together this indicates that a great deal of the non-native speakers comprehended the text as a symptom of the speaker's experience, perhaps even explicitly as her Opinion, and not as a signal to act. Even the non-native speakers who found the text to be a Suggestion or Piece of Advice still did not consider this as automatically being a signal to implement changes.

#### *10.2.2.5. Why don't you include*

The text *it is alright, but why don't you include more details in section 1* was paraphrased as: ***I wonder****: you did not include details. But* ***I assume you are able to do so without much effort****, so* ***my open proposal*** *is that you include more details in Section 1*, where *I wonder* in combination

with *I assume you are able to do so without much effort* expresses the function of *why* and *my open proposal* highlights the function of the interrogative, i.e. to present the solution as an open proposal. The paraphrase may be said to include an implicit set of Obedience Conditions in form of a Compensation, i.e. *if you include details, the paper will be even better*. The interpretation of the Intention as a Suggestion showed that the native speakers comprehended this as a conclusion, stemming from the speaker's world of beliefs. The fact the Suggestion was mainly Polite and Neutral and not Rude, showed that they didn't interpret the texts as expressing any blame or reproach, but rather that they understood *why* to indicate genuine wonder from the speaker as a symptom of her experience of putting herself in the hearer's place and finding no reasons not to include details, including that the hearer was both willing and capable of doing. This framing was understood by the native speakers as signalling that there were in fact no obstacles which motivated them to make changes. Though the non-native speakers showed some similarities in their comprehension, their selections especially regarding their Willingness to Change highlighted differences in comprehension as well. Both the Japanese and the Chinese and especially the Russian speakers of English included a fair amount of selections of Perhaps Change or Don't Change, which was seen as an indication that they understood the directive as a signal of no obstacles and thereby to implement changes.

#### *10.2.2.6. Couldn't you include*

The final text *it is alright, but couldn't you include more details in section 1* was found to be ambiguous with the native speakers, dividing them between a neutral(/polite) reading and a rude reading, regardless of which they still found changes should be implemented. For the majority who favoured a neutral(/polite) reading, the text was paraphrased as: *it is alright, but I experience: you did not include details, so **I wonder and suggest as an open proposal** at the same time: could you now*. The text was comprehended as stemming from the speaker's world of beliefs, which made the native speakers focus on the positive aspect of *could*, i.e. that they are now able to do so, as opposed to what they did not do. For those native speakers who considered the text a rude Opinion, the paraphrase read: *it is alright, but I wonder why **you did not include** details since you could. I state as my **opinion**: you include. If you do not include details, the paper will not be alright*. Their comprehension of the text as rude showed that they focused on the negative aspect of *could* as a form of criticism or blame from the professor. For the non-native speakers their comprehension of this text differed a lot from the native speakers. Both the Russian and the Japanese speakers of English found the text to be a polite Request requiring changes, however,

the Russian speakers in far greater numbers than the Japanese speakers. It was suggested that a similar formulation in the Russian speaker's mother tongue might be affecting their comprehension of the English text. The Chinese speakers of English, on the other hand, comprehended the directive as a rude Urge which combined mainly with Perhaps Change.

#### *10.2.2.7. Findings across all texts in relation to the comprehension of directives*

Taken together the findings across the texts from both native and non-native speakers showed that there were indeed many similarities in the comprehension of the English texts, but also a lot of differences. A key finding across texts was that the differences in comprehension between native and non-native speakers were less obvious but nonetheless had a profound effect on the overall understanding. The paraphrasing of the native speakers' comprehension showed how the language specific communication process seemed to underlie the universal process of directives, in the sense that the native speakers formed elaborated understandings of the naming process, i.e. not just seeing the directive as a symptom of the speaker's experience of a problem, but rather as a much more specific experience grounded in one of the speaker's discourse worlds. This elaborate underlying understanding of naming seemed to trickle down so to speak, affecting their overall understanding of the directive both in terms of the Politeness Evaluation, the interpretation of the Intention behind and especially interesting also their subsequent Willingness to Change.

As the non-native speakers of English all had mother tongues of different supertype, their native communication process and thereby also comprehension process was different, and although it is not possible to speak of transfer as such, some sort of interference did seem to take place. Common for their comprehension across texts was the fact that even though they seemed to form the same basic understanding, i.e. reach the same physical point of contact as the native speakers, the journey they made from here was different, meaning they ended up forming a different full understanding, be this in terms of the Politeness Evaluation, the interpretation of Intention and/or their Willingness to Change. A good example of this was the comprehension of the hedge *perhaps*, which for the native speakers was understood as implying that the text was a Suggestion stemming from the speaker's world of beliefs. However, for a lot of the non-native speakers, it seems that *perhaps* was not comprehended as such, but that it instead actually softened the action suggested by the imperative thus prompting them to select Perhaps Change instead of Change. This is interesting to compare to the view held by Kecskes (2015) that in an intercultural setting where the interlocutors do not use their native language, they seem to focus more on the actual

propositional meaning when decoding for (im)politeness. Perhaps one could argue along the same lines here that since the non-native speakers are comprehending in another language than their mother tongue they seem to take the semantic meaning more literally than the non-native speakers.

### 10.2.3. Final remarks on all findings from the study

When comparing the findings from the analysis of the comprehension of 'or' and the analysis of the comprehension of directives what seems to stand out is the notion that although something did seem to be influencing the comprehension of the non-native speakers, pinpointing exactly what and how proved to be much more complex. It would be far too simplistic to say that the communication process of the mother tongue is either directly transferred to the comprehension of the ELF texts or directly replaced by the communication process and thereby also the process of comprehension of English. Rather whatever influence there was, was more subtle but still made a great impact on the overall understanding. A clear limitation of both the study of 'or' and the study of directives is that I do not have data from comprehension of similar texts in their mother tongue. That rules out any conclusions of direct transfer.

Secondly, the data I have once again indicated that perhaps the idea of a direct transfer is too simplistic to explain the differences in comprehension of the ELF texts. For example, even though the overall communication process is the same for languages of the same supertype, e.g. Japanese and Chinese, I still found differences between these two groups in their comprehension of English texts. At the same time languages of different supertypes such as Russian and Japanese or Chinese would sometimes form similar comprehensions, which nonetheless were still different from that of the native speakers. In other words, it is not possible to say that non-native speakers of English of different mother tongues differ systematically according to super type, they just differ. However, it is possible to conclude that the comprehension of ELF texts is a complicated process with many subtle or covert differences that may be difficult to pinpoint or notice in the course of interaction, but which nonetheless may have a profound impact on the overall, full understanding of the text. In other words, we may think we comprehend the same when communicating in English, but subtle differences, which slip by unnoticed, may lead us to form overall different understandings.

## 10.3. Contributions

The aim of this study was to investigate the comprehension of English texts by native and non-native speakers of English. My hope is that the findings from this study will contribute to the discussion of ELF and its role in today's globalised world, by highlighting how subtle differences in comprehension may have a profound effect of the overall understanding of ELF texts. Even though the debate on transfer within SLA and CLI has been greatly nuanced over the last years, I hope that the findings of this study will add further to this. The findings suggest that it may not always be possible or even relevant to conceptualise transfer as a direct transfer from mother tongue to foreign language, but rather as a subtle influence with possible profound influence for the overall understanding. Furthermore, in addition to the notions of semantic transfer, grammatical transfer and pragmatic transfer, we might add the idea of a form of semiotic transfer. This would indicate differences in the comprehension of the indexical properties of texts, meaning that grammatical and even semantic elements which for some languages may serve as a signal of information will for other languages be a symptom of the speakers experience or a model of a situation in reality. Differences in the comprehension of how a text points will naturally lead to differences in the overall comprehension of what the text actually means.

Specifically for the discussion of the comprehension of the different directives, I hope that my findings may shed some light on a small aspect of the much discussed possible coupling between linguistic form and politeness. The findings from the study show that the participants' comprehension seemed to be influenced by individual factors such as the assessment of the context, the interpretation of the relationship between professor and student, etc., in addition to their assessment of the actual linguistic formulation. Yet, since the context etc. was the same for all texts and their comprehension of the texts still varied from text to text, it seems only reasonable to conclude that their comprehension was indeed based on or affected by the linguistic formulation of the directive. This may seem as a trivial conclusion, but it deserves a mention especially in relation to the great discussion within politeness research of whether politeness is tied to linguistic formulations or situated solely in social practice. With this I do not intend to claim that politeness is not contextually bound or situated in social practice, but simply add to the discussion that the linguistic formulation of a directive is not without relevance to the comprehension of politeness, especially, it would seem, in an ELF setting.

As for the theoretical contributions, my aim with this dissertation was to show how the framework of communicative supertypes has wide implications for the understanding of how language works and what makes it such a powerful tool for communication. By understanding language as a system of signs in their iconic, indexical and symbolic nature, and by taking this literally, we saw first of all how the process of acquisition led our mother tongue to be anchored not only in our mind but also in our body, which paved the way for culture to make its influence on language, and indeed vice versa. Second, we saw how understanding comprehension as the hearer's mental recreation of the journey made by the speaker, but in the opposite order, meant that speaker and hearer were able to meet not once, but twice during the process of comprehension. First through the physical point of contact which was the utterance that formed the speaker's endpoint of communication and the hearer's starting point. Second through the mental point of contact which marked the end of the journey for the hearer by having fully recreated in her own mind the original journey made by the speaker and thereby made it to where the speaker started out, forming a full and complete understanding of the text. In combination with the understanding of directives as different strategies for solving a problem, this view of comprehension proved powerful in explaining the differences and similarities in comprehension between native and non-native speakers.

## 10.4. Limitations and perspectives for future research

Though I believe and hope that this study has made its empirical and theoretical contributions, it clearly also has its limitations! This was an exploratory study, qualitative in nature, and therefore with a very limited sample size. This means that the conclusions I am able to draw based on my findings are not necessarily generalisable to a larger population. To be able to do so, a larger quantitative study would have to be conducted, which would no doubt make a very interesting contribution and provide an interesting context for the findings of this study. Similarly, the present study could also be supplemented by additional qualitative studies with for instance different contexts, both linguistic and extra-linguistic, emphasising different aspects of the interpersonal relationship between speaker and hearer, or asking questions of a different or more open-ended nature to give a deeper understanding.

Furthermore, as this study focused only on the comprehension of ELF texts, similar data from a mother tongue context was not included. Nonetheless, the study could easily be supplemented

with similar tests conducted in the participants' mother tongue, which might convey a more detailed picture as to the possible influence of the mother tongue.

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# Appendix A – The Full GEBCom test

Please note that the texts do not appear according to their actual number in the test, but according to element of interest. The number assigned to each text reflects the actual number in the test.

**OR**

**Text 1**

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

You are reading an article in the newspaper. The local reporter is doing an interview with a police detective about a crime investigation. You read:

Reporter: Do you have any idea who might have killed Mrs Hewitt or Dr Gott?
Detective: No, unfortunately we have no leads.

How many people were killed?

- 1
- 2

How many killers were there?

- 1
- 2

## NAMING

**Text 2***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

You are at your doctor's office waiting for the doctor, who is not there. The doctor rushes into the waiting room and says to you and the other waiting patients:

> Sorry I am late. I was stuck in a taxi.

Why was the doctor late? *Please select ONE*

- ☐ He could not get out of the taxi
- ☐ The taxi could not get out of a traffic jam
- ☐ He was busy helping a patient in the taxi

## NAMING

**Text 29***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

Breaking news:

Mariah's murderer was innocent.

What does this text mean? *Please select ONE*

- ☐ The person we know murdered Mariah was found innocent of another crime.
- ☐ The person we thought murdered Mariah was found innocent of her murder.
- ☐ Mariah's murderer has still not been found

## RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

**Text 3***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

Imagine that you email your new boss about arranging a job interview with a potential candidate, Mr Miller. You now receive this reply from your boss:

Hi!
If we have already agreed on hiring Mr Jones why would we want Mr Miller for a job interview?
Kind regards

How do you understand his reply? *Please select ONE*

- ☐ You should list reasons to hold a job interview with Mr Miller.
- ☐ You should realise that there is no reason to make a job interview with Mr Miller.

## RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

**Text 18***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

Imagine that you email your new boss about arranging a job interview with a potential candidate, Mr Miller. You know receive this reply from your boss:

Hi!
Why would we want Mr Miller for a job interview if we have already agreed on hiring Mr Jones?
Kind regards

How do you understand his reply? *Please select ONE*

- ☐ You should list reasons to hold a job interview with Mr Miller.
- ☐ You should realise that there is no reason to make a job interview with Mr Miller.

## RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

**Text 35***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

Imagine that you have been emailing back and forth with your new boss about arranging a job interview with a potential candidate, Mr Miller. You know receive this reply from your boss:

Hi!
Why are we having this conversation?
Kind regards

How do you understand his reply? Please select ONE

- ☐ You should remind your boss what you are discussing and why.
- ☐ You should realise that there is nothing more to say in this matter.

## RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

**Text 25***

*Please answer the questions below.*

Which of the sentences below do you find most natural?

- Why do you want to read this book if it is not part of the curriculum? Please explain this to me.
- If it is not part of the curriculum, why do you want to read this book? Please explain this to me.

## RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

**Text 8***

*Please answer the question below.*

Which of the sentences below do you find most natural?

- Why do you want to read this book if it is not part of the curriculum? That is just a waste of time.
- If it is not part of the curriculum, why do you want to read this book? That is just a waste of time.

## FORM OF APPROACHING THE HEARER

**Text 4***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

> Hi
> Thank you for the paper. It is alright but perhaps include more details in section 1.
> Kind regards

Was this email

- Polite
- Neutral
- Rude

This was the professor's

- Suggestion
- Order
- Piece of advice
- Warning
- Opinion
- Obligation
- Request

Should you change section 1?

- Perhaps
- Yes
- No

## FORM OF APPROACHING THE HEARER

**Text 9***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

> Hi
> Thank you for the paper. It is alright but you should include more details in section 1.
> Kind regards

Was this email

- Polite
- Neutral
- Rude

This was the professor's

- Suggestion
- Order
- Piece of advice
- Warning
- Opinion
- Obligation
- Request

Should you change section 1?

- Perhaps
- Yes
- No

## FORM OF APPROACHING THE HEARER

**Text 15***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

> Hi
> Thank you for the paper. It is alright but it needs to have more details in section 1.
> Kind regards

Was this email

- Polite
- Neutral
- Rude

This was the professor's

- Suggestion
- Order
- Piece of advice
- Warning
- Opinion
- Obligation
- Request

Should you change section 1?

- Perhaps
- Yes
- No

## FORM OF APPROACHING THE HEARER

**Text 20***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

> Hi
> Thank you for the paper. It is alright but I would probably include more details in section one.
> Kind regards

Was this email

- Polite
- Neutral
- Rude

This was the professor's

- Suggestion
- Order
- Piece of advice
- Warning
- Opinion
- Obligation
- Request

Should you change section 1?

- Perhaps
- Yes
- No

## FORM OF APPROACHING THE HEARER

**Text 26***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

> Hi
> Thank you for the paper. It is alright but why don't you include more details in section 1?
> Kind regards

Was this email

- Polite
- Neutral
- Rude

This was the professor's

- Suggestion
- Order
- Piece of advice
- Warning
- Opinion
- Obligation
- Request

Should you change section 1?

- Perhaps
- Yes
- No

## FORM OF APPROACHING THE HEARER

**Text 33***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

> Hi
> Thank you for the paper. It is alright but couldn't you include more details in section 1?
> Kind regards

Was this email

- Polite
- Neutral
- Rude

This was the professor's

- Suggestion
- Order
- Piece of advice
- Warning
- Opinion
- Obligation
- Request

Should you change section 1?

- Perhaps
- Yes
- No

**DISCOURSE WORLD SPLIT**

**Text 5***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

You are having lunch with some of your fellow students. One of them asks you:

"Are you leaving now?"

Why does your fellow student ask you "Are you leaving now"? *Please select ONE*

- Because at this point in time he believes that I am about to leave
- Because he knows me and knows that I usually leave at that time
- Because he can see with his eyes that I am about to leave
- Because he was told in advance that I had to leave at that time

## DISCOURSE WORLD SPLIT

**Text 34***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

You are at a party with your fellow students. One of them asks you:

"Are you having a bad time?"

Why does the student ask you "Are you having a bad time"? Please select ONE

- Because someone told him in advance that I don't like parties
- Because he knows that I hate parties
- Because he can see with his eyes that I don't like to be here
- Because at this moment he believes that I don't like to be here

## TIME ANCHORING & PREFERED SITUATION

**Text 6***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

I'm truly sorry to hear that your father has been hospitalized. I hope he is better now.

Is the father still in hospital? *Please select ONE*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

## TIME ANCHORING & PREFERED SITUATION

**Text 21***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

I'm truly sorry to hear that your father was hospitalized. I hope he is better now.

Is the father still in hospital? Please select ONE

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

## TIME ANCHORING & PREFERED SITUATION

**Text 11***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Imagine that you are talking with your friend and he says to you:

"Didn't I tell you? Yesterday at the library I ran into William who has won £2 million".

When did William win the money? Please select ONE

- He just won the money
- He won the money recently
- He won the money a long time ago

## TIME ANCHORING & PREFERED SITUATION

**Text 17***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Imagine that you are talking with your friend and she says to you:

"Didn't I tell you? Yesterday at the supermarket I ran into John who won £2 million".

When did John win the money? *Please select ONE*

- He just won the money
- He won the money a long time ago
- He won the money recently

## TIME ANCHORING & PREFERED SITUATION

**Text 24***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Mary and Michael visited their grandparents during the summer. They had a wonderful time, enjoying beautiful weather and the beach nearby.

When did Mary and Michael visit their grandparents? *Please select ONE*

- Every summer
- Just one summer
- Several times this summer

Are their grandparents still alive? *Please select ONE*

- Yes
- No

## TIME ANCHORING & PREFERED SITUATION

**Text 31***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

You receive the following email from your supervisor:

Dear students,
I have just spoken to Professor Smith's secretary who arranged his visit to our university. His presentation will be available on the intranet tomorrow.
Kind regards

Has Professor Smith visited the university? *Please select ONE*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

**PROGRESSIVE/NON-PROGRESSIVE**

**Text 7***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Imagine that you are talking to your friend and she is telling you about a fellow student, Harry, that she knows well but whom you do not know. She tells you:

"Harry wrote to me about the paper I sent him. He said it was good and he praised my work. He is being polite".

What does your friend say about Harry? Please select ONE

- She thinks that Harry is always a polite person
- She thinks that in this situation Harry acted politely

According to your friend, why did Harry praise her work? Please select ONE

- He praised her work in order to tell the truth
- He only praised her work in order to please her

**PROGRESSIVE/NON-PROGRESSIVE**

**Text 16***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Imagine that you are talking to your friend and she is telling you about a fellow student, Thomas, that she knows well but whom you do not know. She tells you:

"Thomas is being rude. He wrote to me about the paper I sent him. He said it was bad and questioned my work".

What does your friend say about Thomas? *Please select ONE*

- She thinks that in this situation Thomas acted rudely
- She thinks that Thomas is always a rude person

According to your friend, why did Thomas question her work? *Please select ONE*

- He only questioned the work in order to annoy her
- He questioned the work in order to tell the truth

**PROGRESSIVE/NON-PROGRESSIVE**

**Text 19***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Imagine that you are talking to your friend and she is telling you about a fellow student, George, that she knows well but whom you do not know. She tells you:

"George is polite. He wrote to me about the paper I sent him. He said it was good and he praised my work".

What does your friend say about George? *Please select ONE*

- She thinks that George is always a polite person
- She thinks that in this situation George acted politely

According to your friend, why did George praise her work? *Please select ONE*

- He only praised the work in order to please her
- He praised the work in order to tell the truth

**PROGRESSIVE/NON-PROGRESSIVE**

**Text 28***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Imagine that you are talking to your friend and she is telling you about a fellow student, Alexander, that she knows well but whom you do not know. She tells you:

"Alexander wrote to me about the paper I sent him. He said it was bad and he questioned my work. He is rude".

What does your friend say about Alexander? Please select ONE

- She thinks that Alexander is always a rude person
- She thinks that in this situation Alexander acted rudely

According to your friend, why did Alexander question her work? Please select ONE

- He questioned the work in order to tell the truth
- He only questioned the work in order to annoy her

## EVENT RELATIONSHIP

**Text 10***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

Imagine that you are having a conversation with your boss about a seminar you might attend tomorrow and he says to you:

"The way I see it, you have to go".

Please continue your boss's sentence. Please select TWO of the options below:

- ☐ You can tell us about it.
- ☐ It'll please me.
- ☐ Your participation is needed.
- ☐ The invited speakers are worth listening to. I know them.
- ☐ I won't need you in the office.
- ☐ You will be able to make a better report.

## EVENT RELATIONSHIP

**Text 27***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below*

Imagine that you are having a conversation with your boss. You are talking about a visit from Mr Richards and your boss says to you:

“Mr Richards might not come today".

Please continue your boss’s sentence. Please select TWO of the options below:

- ☐ I offended him.
- ☐ He is sick.
- ☐ You have to change your plans.
- ☐ His flight has been delayed.
- ☐ I am very busy.
- ☐ You need not wait anymore.
- ☐ His presentation will have to be cancelled.
- ☐ You offended him.
- ☐ I have to change my plans.

**EVENT RELATIONSHIP**

**Text 14***

*Please answer the questions below.*

Which sentence do you think sounds more natural? Please select ONE

- ☐ You have to go. The presentation is very relevant for you.
- ☐ The presentation is very relevant for you. You have to go.

## EVENT RELATIONSHIP

**Text 36***

*Please answer the question below.*

Which sentence do you think sounds more natural? Please select ONE

- ☐ You will be able to make a better report. You have to go.
- ☐ You have to go. You will be able to make a better report.

## EVENT RELATIONSHIP

**Text 30***

*Please answer the questions below*

Which sentence do you think sounds more natural? Please select ONE

- ☐ He is sick. He may not come today.
- ☐ He may not come today. He is sick.

## EVENT RELATIONSHIP

**Text 12***

*Please answer the questions below*

Which sentence do you think sounds more natural? Please select ONE

- ☐ You will have to cancel the meeting. He may not come today.
- ☐ He may not come today. You will have to cancel the meeting.

## COMMUNICATIVE DIRECTION

**Text 13***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Imagine that you are at a local company seminar. One of the senior managers has just given a good presentation in English. It is time to take questions from the audience. A new senior manager who has just started working at your office is the first to respond. He stands up in the back row and says:

"Thank you for your presentation but unfortunately I didn't understand a word of what you just said".

What does the audience do right after this comment? Please select ONE

- They expect a response from someone else in the audience.
- They turn and look at the speaker and wait for him to reply.
- They keep looking at the person making the comment and wait for him to elaborate on his comment.

What does the audience think right after this comment? Please select ONE

- They think it is embarrassing for the speaker because he has just been insulted.
- They think it is embarrassing for the person making the comment because he did not understand the presentation.
- They think this is an embarrassing situation.

What did the person making the comment want? Please select ONE

- He wanted to start a discussion.
- He wanted to understand the contents of the presentation.
- He wanted to insult the person giving the presentation.

The person making the comment was: Please select ONE

- Polite
- Neutral
- Rude

## COMMUNICATIVE DIRECTION

**Text 22***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Imagine that you are at a meeting, sitting around a table together with a small group of people, all at the same job level as you but from different countries. One of them has just given a good presentation in English. One of your colleagues, whom you have just met for the first time, is the first to respond after the presentation has ended. He says:

"Thank you for your presentation but unfortunately I didn't understand a word of what you just said".

What does the group do right after this comment? Please select ONE

- They turn and look at the speaker and wait for him to reply.
- They expect a response from someone else in the group.
- They keep looking at your colleague who made the comment and wait for him to elaborate on his comment.

What does the group think right after this comment? Please select ONE

- They think it is embarrassing for your colleague who made the comment because he did not understand the presentation.
- They think it is embarrassing for the speaker because he has just been insulted.
- They think this is an embarrassing situation.

What did your colleague who made the comment want? Please select ONE

- He wanted to start a discussion.
- He wanted to understand the contents of the presentation.
- He wanted to insult the speaker.

Your colleague who made the comment was: Please select ONE

- Neutral
- Polite
- Rude

**REFERENCE UNIT**

**Text 23***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

Imagine that you read the following headline on the front page of a paper:

Sweet words prevent school massacre.

What does this text mean? Please select ONE

- Someone said something nice to a person and that prevented that person from killing a lot of school children
- If we talk nicely to each other, we will not have people killing a lot of school children
- Talking nicely to each other eliminates the phenomenon itself.

**REFERENCE UNIT**

**Text 32***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

Imagine that you read the following headline on the front page of a newspaper:

Beer crisis may cause massive reductions.

What are the consequences of the beer crisis? Please select ONE

- ☐ They may have to reduce the amount of beer they produce.
- ☐ They may have to reduce the number of people working with the production of beer.
- ☐ It may have both the above mentioned consequences.

# Appendix B – Consent Form

**CONSENT FORM**

**Research group for Global English as international business language**

Material gathered during this research will be treated as confidential and securely stored. In subsequent publications or use of these recordings your name will be removed where used and your comments made unattributable. Likewise, the name of the company you represent will be altered and details that might identify the company will be changed or left out, as will sensitive information about the company. You may at any point withdraw from participating in the data collection without giving any explanation.

By signing this consent form you agree to the activity you participate in being recorded and to these recordings being used for research purposes (in accordance with the conditions outlined above) by researchers at the Research group for Global English as international business language. Short clips may be used during research activities and conference presentations.

If you agree to participate in this research under the conditions outlined here and in the information sheet, please sign below. The principal researcher will countersign.

I, the respondent, agree to these conditions (please use capital letters):

Name: Email:

Position: Nationality:

Signature: Date:

I, the principal researcher, agree to these conditions:

Name:

Signature: Date:

**Research group for Global English as international business language: The significance of the mother tongue for speech production, reception, and the formation of association**

## INFORMATION SHEET

**General information concerning recordings**

You are being asked to participate in the audio and/or visual recordings of a particular activity. This information sheet tells you about the study you are participating in, how the recordings will be carried out, and how the data will be used and stored after the recordings are completed.

**The GEBCom Project: Global English as international business language**

The GEBCom project is an international research team that has been established by researchers from Copenhagen Business School. The purpose of the GEBCom project is to investigate whether any given mother tongue influences one's production of requests in English, as well as comprehension of certain English texts and words.

**Recordings are confidential and participation is anonymous and voluntary**

All material gathered during the study will be treated as confidential and securely stored. Furthermore, participation in the project is anonymous. This means that in subsequent use of the material your name will be removed where used and if relevant your comments will be adjusted so they cannot be attributed to you. Likewise, the company you represent is also guaranteed change and/or removal of name and business details (cf. "Consent Form"). You may at any point withdraw from participating in the data collection without giving any explanation. In such a case, please contact Stine Mosekjær at smm.ibc@cbs.dk or +45 3815 3234.

**What happens to the recorded material?**

The audiovisual files will be archived and transcribed. Members of the GEBCom project will be able to use the material and the transcripts for research purposes and subsequent publication. Excerpts may be played to other bona fide researchers (e.g. at conferences), and anonymized screen shots (where video has been produced) used in publications. The material may also be used in seminars and workshops providing feedback to the workplaces involved in the research.

Feel free to contact Stine Mosekjær should you have any further questions at smm.ibc@cbs.dk or +45 3815 3234.

**Research group for Global English as international business language: The significance of the mother tongue for speech production, reception, and the formation of association**

# Appendix C – Instructions

## ENGLISH COMPREHENSION SURVEY

First of all: Thank you for participating in this survey, it is greatly appreciated!

Now for the instructions:

This survey investigates the understanding of English texts.

Please read the following texts and answer the questions below. Please follow your intuition when answering the questions, don't think too much. This is **not** a test; you will not be graded, rated or reviewed. **There is no right or wrong answer**; any answer is as good as another. We're just looking for the answer YOU find most appropriate.

Throughout the survey, you will encounter what appears to be the same text more than once. They are in fact not the same. This is part of the survey design, don't worry about it. Please just answer the questions, and please don't go back to consult your previous answers.

There is a total of 36 texts, some very short, some a bit longer.

Once again, thank you so much for taking the time to do this!

# Appendix D – Annotated Index Overview of Data

**Data from 'OR'**

**Tekst 1***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

You are reading an article in the newspaper. The local reporter is doing an interview with a police detective about a crime investigation. You read:

Reporter: Do you have any idea who might have killed Mrs Hewitt or Dr Gott?
Detective: No, unfortunately we have no leads.

| **How many people were killed?** | England | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1**<br>PRC2 (3-3-5-5 daily),PRC5 (6-5-7-7daily), PRC8 (4-5-4-5 daily), PRC9(5-6-5-6 daily), PRC13 (5-5-6-5 daily), PRC16 (5-4-6-6 weekly), PRC20 (5-4-5-5 weekly), PRC21 (4-3-4-4 weekly), PRC23 (6-5-7-5 daily)<br>PRC8, PRC9 and PRC16 are male<br>PRC2, PRC13, PRC21 and PRC23 speak another language besides English.<br><br>RUS6 (4-4-5-4) and RUS18 (5-4-6-5)<br>RUS6 is male and speaks another language besides English<br><br>JPN4 (5-5-6-6), JPN10 (3-3-3-4), JPN15 (5-5-5-5), JPN18 (4-3-4-3), JPN19 (3-3-3-3) and JPN21 (3-4-2-4)<br>JPN15 and JPN18 are male<br>All English only<br>JPN4, JPN18 and JPN21 have lived in another country for 10+ months. | 0 | 6<br>28,57% | 9<br>39,13% | 2<br>8% |
| **2**<br>PRC1 (5-5-6-6 weekly), PRC3 (6-5-6-6 weekly), PRC4 (5-5-5-4 daily), PRC6 (4-5-5-5 daily), PRC7 (5-5-6-5 daily), PRC10 (4-4-5-4 daily), PRC11 (6-4-6-5 weekly), PRC12 (5-5-5-5 Weekly), PRC14 (5-6-5-6 daily), PRC15(3-5-4-5 daily), PRC17 (4-4-5-4 daily), PRC19 (5-5-5-5 daily), PRC22 (4-4-5-5 weekly), PRC24 (4-5-5-5 daily)<br>PRC12, PRC15, PRC17 and PRC24 are male<br><br>RUS1 (6-5-6-5), RUS2 (4-5-4-3), RUS3 (5-5-5-5), RUS4 (5-6-4-4), RUS5 (5-4-5-5), RUS9 (4-6-6-6), RUS10 (5-6-6-4), RUS11 (5-5-5-5), RUS12 (4-4-4-4), RUS13 (4-5-5-5), RUS14 (6-5-6-5), RUS15 (4-4-5-4), RUS17 (5-4-6-5), RUS19 (5-4-5-4), RUS20 (4-6-6-6), RUS21 (6-5-6-6), RUS23 (6-5-6-6), RUS24 (3-3-4-4), RUS25 (4-5-5-4), RUS26 (5-4-5-4), RUS27 (6-5-6-6), RUS28 (5-5-6-6) and RUS29 (6-5-6-6)<br>RUS9 and RUS14 are male<br>RUS3, RUS4, RUS5, RUS11, RUS12, RUS14, RUS15, RUS19, RUS24, RUS25, RUS28 and RUS29 speak another language besides English | 21<br>100% | 15<br>71,43% | 14<br>60,87% | 23<br>92% |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| JPN1 (3-4-3-4), JPN2 (3-3-3-4), JPN3 (4-4-4-4), JPN5 (3-2-3-2), JPN6 (4-3-5-5), JPN7 (4-4-3-3), JPN9 (3-3-4-3), JPN11 (5-6-6-6), JPN12 (3-3-4-3), JPN13 (4-3-4-4), JPN14 (4-3-5-5), JPN16 (4-4-5-3), JPN17 (5-4-5-4), JPN23 (6-5-5-6) and JPN24 (3-2-3-2)<br>JPN3, JPN13 and JPN16 are male<br>JPN1, JPN2, JPN14 and JPN24 speak another language besides English<br>JPN2, JPN3, JPN6, JPN11 and JPN23 have lived in another country for 10+ months. | | | | |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 25 |

| **How many killers were there?** | England | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | 16 | 17 | 14 | 19 |
| PRC1 (2 killed), PRC6 (2 killed), PRC7 (2 killed), PRC9 (1 killed), PRC10 (2 killed), PRC11 (2 killed), PRC12 (2 killed), PRC14 (2 killed), PRC15 (2 killed), PRC16 (1 killed), PRC17 (2 killed), PRC19 (2 killed), PRC20 (1 killed), PRC22 (2 killed)<br>PRC9, PRC12, PRC15, PRC16, PRC17 are a male.<br><br>RUS2, RUS3, RUS4, RUS5, RUS6 (1 killed), RUS9, RUS10, RUS11, RUS12, RUS13, RUS18 (1 killed), RUS19, RUS20, RUS21, RUS23, RUS24, RUS25, RUS28 and RUS29<br>RUS6 and RUS9 are male<br>RUS3, RUS4, RUS5, RUS11, RUS12, RUS18, RUS19, RUS24, RUS25, RUS28 and RUS29 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN1 (2 killed), JPN3 (2 killed), JPN4 (1 killed), JPN5 (2 killed), JPN6 (2 killed), JPN7 (2 killed), JPN9 (2 killed), JPN11 (2 killed), JPN14 (2 killed), JPN15 (1 killed), JPN16 (2 killed), JPN17 (2 killed), JPN18 (1 killed), JPN19 (1 killed), JPN21 (1 killed), JPN23 (2 killed) and JPN24 (2 killed).<br>JPN3, JPN15, JPN16 and JPN18 are male<br>JPN1, JPN14 and JPN24 speak another language besides English<br>JPN3, JPN4, JPN6, JPN11, JPN18, JPN21 and JPN23 have lived in another country. | 76,19% | 80,95 % | 60,87 | 76% |
| **2** | 5 | 4 | 9 | 6 |

| **How many killers were there?** | England | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| UK3, UK6, UK8, UK13 and UK20 – UK20 is male, UK3 and UK20 speak other languages, incl. stay abroad<br><br>PRC2 (1 killed), PRC3 (2killed), PRC4 (2 killed), PRC5 (1 killed), PRC8 (1 killed), PRC13 (1 killed), PRC21 (1 killed), PRC23 (1 killed), PRC24 (1 killed)<br>PRC8 and PRC24 are male<br>PRC2, PRC4, PRC13, PRC21, PRC23 and PRC24 speak another foreign language besides English.<br><br>RUS1, RUS14, RUS15, RUS17, RUS26 and RUS27 (all 2 killed)<br>RUS14 is male<br>RUS14 and RUS15 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN2 (2 killed), JPN10 (1 killed), JPN12 (2 killed) and JPN13 (2 killed)<br>JPN13 is male<br>JPN2 speaks another language besides English, and has lived in another country. | 23,81% | 19,05 % | 39,13 % | 24% |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 25 |

**Data for Form of Approaching the Hearer**

**Tekst 4***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but perhaps include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

| **Was this email: Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Polite**<br>UK1, UK4, UK15, UK17 and UK19, all female, 1 15-19, the rest 20-24, UK17 and UK19 both speak French (UK17 first year Manchester, UK19 fourth year Oxford).<br><br>PRC3(6-5-6-6), PRC5 (6-5-7-7), PRC7 (5-5-6-5), PRC8 (4-5-4-5), PRC12 (5-5-5-5), PRC13 (5-5-6-5), PRC14 (5-6-5-6), PRC15 (3-5-4-5), PRC16 (5-4-6-6), PRC17 (4-4-5-4), PRC19 (5-5-5-5), PRC22 (4-4-5-5), PRC23 (6-5-7-5)<br>PRC8, PRC12, PRC15, PRC16, PRC17 are male<br>PRC7, PRC13, PRC15, PRC23 speak other languages besides English<br><br>RUS3 (5-5-5-5), RUS5 (5-4-5-5), RUS6 (4-4-5-4), RUS9 (4-6-6-6), RUS13 (4-5-5-5), RUS15 (4-4-5-4), RUS21 (6-5-6-6), RUS23 (6-5-6-6) and RUS26 (5-4-5-4)<br>RUS6 and RUS9 are male - RUS3, RUS5 and RUS15 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN1 (3-4-3-4) and JPN3 (4-4-4-4)<br>JPN3 is male - JPN1 speaks another language besides English - JPN3 has had stay abroad 10 months | 5<br>23,81 % | 2<br>9,52% | 13<br>56,52 % | 9<br>36% |

| **Was this email: Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Neutral**<br>UK2, UK3, UK5, UK6, UK8, UK9, UK11, UK12, UK13, UK18, UK20, UK22, all but UK20 are female, UK3, UK12 and UK20 speak other languages.<br><br>PRC2 (3-3-5-5), PRC4 (5-5-5-4), PRC6 (4-5-5-5), PRC9 (5-6-5-6), PRC10 (4-4-5-4), PRC11 (6-4-6-5), PRC20 (5-4-5-5), PRC21 (4-3-4-4), PRC24 (4-5-5-5)<br>PRC9 and PRC24 are male, PRC2, PRC4, PRC11, PRC21 and PRC24 speak other languages besides English, PRC24 with 6 months in Sweden<br><br>RUS1 (6-5-6-5), RUS4 (5-6-4-4), RUS10 (5-6-6-4), RUS11 (5-5-5-5), RUS12 (4-4-4-4), RUS14 (6-5-6-5), RUS17 (5-4-6-5), RUS18 (5-4-6-5), RUS19 (5-4-5-4), RUS20 (4-6-6-6), RUS24 (3-3-4-4), RUS25 (4-5-5-4), RUS27 (6-5-6-6), RUS28 (5-5-6-6) and RUS29 (6-5-6-6)<br>RUS14 is male<br>RUS4, RUS11, RUS12, RUS14, RUS18, RUS19, RUS24, RUS28 and RUS29 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN2 (3-3-3-4), JPN4 (5-5-6-6), JPN5 (3-2-3-2), JPN6 (4-3-5-5), JPN7 (4-4-3-3), JPN9 (3-3-4-3), JPN11 (5-6-6-6), JPN12 (3-3-4-3), JPN13 (4-3-4-4), JPN14 (4-3-5-5), JPN15 (5-5-5-5), JPN16 (4-4-5-3), JPN17 (5-4-5-4), JPN18 (4-3-4-3), JPN21 (3-4-2-4) and JPN24 (3-2-3-2)<br>JPN13, JPN15, JPN16 and JPN18 are male<br>JPN2, JPN14 and JPN24 speak another language besides English.<br>JPN2, JPN4, JPN6, JPN11, JPN18 and JPN21 have had stays abroad. | 12<br>57,14<br>% | 16<br>76,19<br>% | 9<br>39,13<br>% | 15<br>60% |
| **Rude**<br>UK7, UK14, UK16 and UK23, UK23 is male speaks another language<br><br>PRC1 (5-5-6-6) female, only English<br><br>RUS2 (4-5-4-3), female, only English<br><br>JPN10 (3-3-3-4), JPN19 (3-3-3-3) and JPN23 (6-5-5-6)<br>All female, English only, JPN23 stay abroad. | 4<br>19,05<br>% | 3<br>14,29<br>% | 1<br>4,35% | 1<br>4% |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 26 |

| This was the professor's: Please select ONE | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Suggestion**<br>UK1(polite), UK8 (neutral), UK9 (neutral), UK11(neutral), UK12 (neutral), UK14 (rude), UK17 (polite), UK20 (neutral)<br>Out of the 8 participants selecting SUGGESTION, 3 (UK12,17 and 20) speak other languages and 2 of these (UK12 and UK20) with 10-12 months stays abroad<br><br>PRC4 (neutral), PRC7 (polite), PRC11 (neutral), PRC14 (polite), PRC15 (polite), PRC16 (polite)<br>PRC15 and PRc16 are male<br>PRC4, PRC7, PRC11 and PRC15 speak other languages besides English<br><br>RUS1 (neutral), RUS3 (polite), RUS9 (polite), RUS10 (neutral), RUS14 (neutral) and RUS17 (neutral)<br>RUS9 and RUS14 are male- RUS3 and RUS14 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN2 (neutral), JPN3 (polite), JPN9 (neutral), JPN16 (neutral), JPN17 (neutral) and JPN18 (neutral)<br>JPN3, JPN16 and JPN18 are male - JPN2 speaks another language besides English- JPN2, JPN3 and JPN18 have had stays abroad of 10+ months. | 8<br>38,10<br>% | 6<br>28,57<br>% | 6<br>26,09<br>% | 6<br>24% |
| **Order**<br>UK7 (rude) – female no other languages<br><br>RUS4 (neutral) and RUS6 (polite)<br>RUS6 is male - RUS4 speaks another language besides English<br><br>JPN14 (neutral) and JPN21 (neutral)<br>Both female, JPN15 speaks French, JPN21 has had a stay abroad. | 1<br>4,76% | 2<br>9,52% | 0 | 2<br>8% |
| **Piece of advice**<br>UK2 (neutral), UK5 (neutral), UK13 (neutral), UK19 (polite), UK23 (rude)<br><br>PRC1 (rude), PRC2 (neutral), PRC3 (polite), PRC5 (polite), PRC6 (neutral), PRC8 (polite), PRC10 (neutral), PRC17 (polite), PRC19 (polite), PRC20 (neutral), PRC23 (polite)<br>PRC8 and PRC17 are male - PRC2, PRC10 and PRC23 speak other languages besides English<br><br>RUS11(neutral), RUS15 (polite), RUS18 (neutral), RUS19 (neutral), RUS21 (polite), RUS24 (neutral), RUS25 (neutral), RUS27 (neutral) and RUS29 (neutral)<br>RUS11, RUS15, RUS18, RUS19, RUS24, RUS25 and RUS29 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN4 (neutral), JPN10 (rude), JPN11 (neutral), JPN12 (neutral) and JPN15 (neutral) - JPN15 is male - All are English only, JPN4 and JPN11 have had stays abroad. | 6<br>28,57<br>% | 5<br>23,81<br>% | 11<br>47,83<br>% | 9<br>36% |
| **Warning** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| This was the professor's: Please select ONE | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Opinion**<br>UK16 (rude)<br><br>RUS2 (rude), RUS13 (polite), RUS26 (polite) and RUS28 (neutral)<br>All female, RUS28 speaks another language besides English<br><br>JPN13 (neutral), male, English only, no stay. | 1<br>4,76% | 1<br>4,76% | 0 | 4<br>16% |
| **Obligation** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Request**<br>UK3 (neutral), UK4 (polite), UK6 (neutral), UK18 (neutral), UK22 (neutral)<br><br>PRC9 (neutral), PRC12 (polite), PRC13 (polite), PRC21 (neutral), PRC22 (polite), PRC24 (neutral)<br>PRC9, PRC12 and PRC24 are male<br>PRC13, PRC21 and PRC24 speak other languages besides English<br><br>RUS5 (polite), RUS12 (neutral), RUS20 (neutral) and RUS23 (polite)<br>All female, RUS5 and RUS12 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN1 (neutral), JPN5 (neutral), JPN6 (neutral), JPN7 (neutral), JPN19 (rude), JPN23 (rude) and JPN24 (neutral)<br>All female<br>JPN1 and JPN24 speak another language besides English<br>JPN6 and JPN23 have had stays abroad. | 5<br>23,81 % | 7<br>33,33 % | 6<br>26,09 % | 4<br>16% |
| **Experience** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Urge** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 25 |

| **Should you change section 1? Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Yes**<br>PRC2 (neutral piece of advice), PRC3 (polite piece of advice), PRC4 (neutral suggestion), PRC5 (polite piece of advice), PRC6 (neutral piece of advice), PRC7 (polite suggestion), PRC8 (olite piece of advice), PRC9 (neutral request), PRC10 (neutral piece of advice), PRC11 (neutral suggestion), PRC12 (polite request), PRC13 (polite request), PRC15 (polite suggestion), PRC17 (polite piece of advice), PRC19 (polite piece of advice), PRC21 (neutral request), PRC22 (polite request), PRC24 (neutral request)<br>PRC8, PRC9, PRC12, PRC15, PRC17 and PRC24 are male<br>PRC2, PRC4, PRC7, PRC10, PRC11, PRC13, PRC15, PRC21, PRC24 speak other languages besides English (PRC24 with 6 months in SE)<br><br>RUS5 (polite request), RUS6 (polite order), RUS9 (polite suggestion), RUS11 (neutral piece of advice), RUS12 (neutral request), RUS15 (polite piece of advice), RUS17 (neutral suggestion), RUS18 (neutral piece of advice), RUS20 (neutral request), RUS23 (polite request), RUS25 (neutral piece of advice), RUS26 (polite opinion) and RUS28 (neutral opinion)<br>RUS6 and RUS9 are male - RUS5, RUS11, RUS12, RUS15, RUS18, RUS25 and RUS28 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN3 (polite suggestion), JPN5 (neutral request), JPN6 (neutral request), JPN7 (neutral request), JPN11 (neutral piece of advice), JPN12 (neutral piece of advice), JPN13 (neutral opinion), JPN14 (neutral order), JPN15 (neutral piece of advice), JPN17 (neutral suggestion), JPN19 (rude request) and JPN23 (rude request)<br>JPN3, JPN13 and JPN15 are male - JPN14 speak another language besides English - JPN3, JPN6, JPN11 and JPN23 have stays abroad. | 19<br>90,48<br>% | 12<br>57,14<br>% | 18<br>78,26<br>% | 13<br>52% |
| **No**<br>PRC14 (polite suggestion), female only English<br><br>RUS4 (neutral order), female, speaks another language besides English<br><br>JPN1 (polite request) and JPN24 (neutral request)<br>Both female, both speak another language besides English (no stay abroad). | 0 | 2<br>9,52% | 1<br>4,35% | 1<br>4% |

| **Should you change section 1? Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Perhaps<br>UK9 and UK11, female, 15-19 and 20-24 no other languages, second year students<br><br>PRC1 (rude piece of advice), PRC16 (polite suggestion), PRC20 (neutral piece of advice) and PRC23 (polite piece of advice)<br>PRC16 is male<br>PRC23 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS1 (neutral suggestion), RUS2 (rude opinion), RUS3 (polite suggestion), RUS10 (neutral suggestion), RUS13 (polite opinion), RUS14 (neutral suggestion), RUS19 (neutral piece of advice), RUS21 (polite piece of advice), RUS24 (neutral piece of advice), RUS27 (neutral piece of advice) and RUS29 (neutral piece of advice)<br><br>JPN2 (neutral suggestion), JPN4 (neutral piece of advice), JPN9 (neutral suggestion), JPN10 (rude piece of advice), JPN16 (neutral suggestion), JPN18 (neutral suggestion) and JPN21 (neutral order).<br>JPN16 and JPN18 are male<br>JPN2 speaks another language besides English.<br>JPN2, JPN4, JPN18 and JPN21 have had stays abroad. | 2<br>9,52% | 7<br>33,33 % | 4<br>17,39 % | 11<br>44% |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 25 |

**FORM OF APPROACHING THE HEARER (direkte/indirekte opfordring)**

**Tekst 9***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but you should include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

| **Was this email: Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Polite**<br>UK1, UK4, UK15, UK17 and UK19, all female, UK17 and UK19 speak French, but no stay abroad<br><br>PRC5 (6-5-7-7), PRC8 (4-5-4-5), PRC12 (5-5-5-5), PRC13 (5-5-6-5), PRC14 (5-6-5-6), PRC15 (3-5-4-5), PRC16 (5-4-6-6), PRC17 (4-4-5-4), PRC19 (5-5-5-5), PRC23 (6-5-7-5)<br>PRC8, PRC12, PRC15, PRC16 and PRC17 are male - PRC13, PRC15 and PRC23 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS3 (5-5-5-5), RUS9 (4-6-6-6), RUS10 (5-6-6-4), RUS11 (5-5-5-5), RUS13 (4-5-5-5), RUS15 (4-4-5-4), RUS23 (6-5-6-6), RUS24 (3-3-4-4) and RUS26 (5-4-5-4)<br>RUS9 is male - RUS3, RUS11, RUS15 and RUS24 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN5 (3-2-3-2), female English only, no stay abroad. | 5<br>23,81<br>% | 1<br>4,76% | 10<br>43,48<br>% | 9<br>36% |

| **Was this email: Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Neutral**<br>UK3, UK6, UK7, UK8, UK9, UK11, UK12, UK13, UK18, UK20, UK22<br>UK20 is the only male, UK3, UK12 and UK20 speak other languages and all with stays abroad of 10-12 months<br><br>PRC2 (3-3-5-5), PRC3 (6-5-6-6), PRC4 (5-5-5-4), PRC9 (5-6-5-6), PRC11 (6-4-6-5), PRC20 (5-4-5-5), PRC21 (4-3-4-4), PRC22 (4-4-5-5), PRC24 (4-5-5-5)<br>PRC9 and PRC24 are male - PRC2, PRC4, PRC11, PRC21 and PRC24 speak another language besides English (PRC24 6 months in Sweden)<br><br>RUS1 (6-5-6-5), RUS2 (4-5-4-3), RUS4 (5-6-4-4), RUS5 (5-4-5-5), RUS6 (4-4-5-4), RUS12 (4-4-4-4), RUS14 (6-5-6-5), RUS17 (5-4-6-5), RUS18 (5-4-6-5), RUS19 (5-4-5-4), RUS20 (4-6-6-6), RUS21 (6-5-6-6), RUS25 (4-5-5-4), RUS27 (6-5-6-6) and RUS28 (5-5-6-6)<br>RUS6 and RUS14 are male - RUS4, RUS5, RUS12, RUS14, , RUS18, RUS19, RUS25 and RUS28 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN1 (3-4-3-4), JPN2 (3-3-3-4), JPN3 (4-4-4-4), JPN4 (5-5-6-6), JPN6 (4-3-5-5), JPN7 (4-4-3-3), JPN11 (5-6-6-6), JPN12 (3-3-4-3), JPN13 (4-3-4-4), JPN14 (4-3-5-5), JPN15 (5-5-5-5), JPN16 (4-4-5-3), JPN17 (5-4-5-4), JPN18 (4-3-4-3), JPN19 (3-3-3-3), JPN23 (6-5-5-6) and JPN24 (3-2-3-2)<br>JPN3, JPN13, JPN15, JPN16 and JPN18 are male - JPN1, JPN2, JPN14 and JPN24 speak another language besides English - JPN2, JPN3, JPN4, JPN6, JPN11, JPN18 and JPN23 have had stays abroad. | 11<br>52,38<br>% | 17<br>80,95<br>% | 9<br>39,13<br>% | 15<br>60% |
| **Rude**<br>UK2, UK5, UK14, UK16 and UK23<br>UK23 is male and speaks another language (jap/kor), incl. stay abroad<br><br>PRC1 (5-5-6-6), PRC6 (4-5-5-5), PRC7 (5-5-6-5) and PRC10 (4-4-5-4)<br>All female, PRC7 and PRC10 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS29 (6-5-6-6), female, speaks another language besides English<br><br>JPN9 (3-3-4-3), JPN10 (3-3-3-4) and JPN21 (3-4-2-4)<br>All female, all English only, JPN21 with stay abroad. | 5<br>23,81<br>% | 3<br>14,29<br>% | 4<br>17,39<br>% | 1<br>4% |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 25 |

| This was the professor's: Please select ONE | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Suggestion**<br>UK1 (polite), UK5 (rude), UK9 (neutral), UK11(neutral), UK12 (neutral), UK14 (rude), UK17 (polite), UK20 (neutral) and UK23(rude)<br>UK20 and UK23 are only male - UK12, UK17, Uk20 and UK23 speak other languages and UK12, Uk20 and UK23 have had stays abroad<br><br>PRC9 (neutral), PRC14 (polite), PRC15 (polite), PRC16 (polite) and PRC24 (neutral)<br>All but PRC14 are male - PRC15 and PRC24 speak other languages besides English (PRC24 with six months in Sweden)<br><br>RUS27 (neutral), female English only<br><br>JPN2 (neutral), JPN16 (neutral), JPN17 (neutral), JPN19 (neutral), JPN21 (rude) and JPN23 (neutral)<br>JPN16 is male - JPN2 speaks another language besides English<br>JPN2, JPN21 and JPN23 have had stays abroad. | 9<br>42,86 % | 6<br>28,57 % | 5<br>21,74 % | 1<br>4% |
| **Order**<br>UK3 (neutral) female, speak German with stay abroad<br><br>PRC3 (neutral), PRC13 (polite) and PRC22 (neutral)<br>All female, PRC13 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS3 (polite), RUS4 (neutral), RUS5 (neutral), RUS9 (polite), RUS17 (neutral) and RUS21 (neutral)<br>RUS9 is male - RUS3, RUS4 and RUS5 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN10 (rude), JPN14 (neutral) and JPN15 (neutral)<br>JPN15 is male - JPN14 speaks another language besides English, no stays abroad. | 1<br>4,76% | 3<br>14,29 % | 3<br>13,04 % | 6<br>24% |
| **Piece of advice**<br>UK8 (neutral), UK13 (neutral), UK15 (polite), UK16 (rude), UK19 (polite), UK22 (neutral)<br>All female<br>Only UK19 speak another language (french) but no stay abroad<br><br>PRC1 (rude), PRC8 (polite), PRC11 (neutral), PRC17 (polite), PRC19 (polite), PRC21 (neutral) and PRC23 (polite)<br>PRC8 and PRC17 are male<br>PRC11, PRC21 and PRC23 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS2 (neutral), RUS10 (polite), RUS11 (polite), RUS12 (neutral), RUS14 (neutral), RUS15 (polite), RUS18 (neutral), RUS19 (neutral) and RUS25 (neutral)<br>RUS14 is male<br>RUS11, RUS12, RUS14, RUS15, RUS18, RUS19 and RUS25 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN4 (neutral), JPN5 (polite), JPN9 (rude) and JPN11 (neutral)<br>All female, all English only, JPN4 and JPN11 have had stays abroad. | 6<br>28,57 % | 4<br>19,05 % | 7<br>30,43 % | 9<br>36% |

| This was the professor's: Please select ONE | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Warning** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Opinion**<br>PRC20 (neutral), female<br><br>RUS13 (polite), RUS23 (polite) and RUS26 (polite)<br>All female, English only | 0 | 0 | 1<br>4,35% | 3<br>12% |
| **Obligation**<br>RUS1 (neutral) and RUS6 (neutral)<br>Female, English only | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2<br>8% |
| **Request**<br>UK2 (rude), UK4 (polite), UK7 (neutral), UK18 (neutral)<br>All female, no other languages<br><br>PRC2 (neutral), PRC4 (neutral), PRC5 (polite), PRC6 (rude), PRC7 (rude), PRC10 (rude) and PRC12 (polite)<br>PRC12 is male - PRC2, PRC4, PRC7 and PRC10 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS20 (neutral), RUS28 (neutral) and RUS29 (rude)<br>All female, RUS28 and RUS29 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN1 (neutral), JPN3 (neutral), JPN6 (neutral), JPN7 (neutral), JPN12 (neutral), JPN13 (neutral), JPN18 (neutral) and JPN24 (neutral)<br>JPN3, JPN13 and JPN18 are male - JPN1 and JPN24 speak another language besides English, JPN3, JPN6 and JPN18 have had stays abroad. | 4<br>19,05<br>% | 8<br>38,10<br>% | 7<br>30,43<br>% | 3<br>12% |
| **Experience** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Urge**<br>UK6 (neutral), female no other language<br><br>RUS24 (polite), female, speaks another language besides Russian | 1<br>4,76% | 0 | 0 | 1<br>4% |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 26 |

| **Should you change section 1? Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Yes**<br>UK1 (polite suggestion), UK2 (rude request), UK3 (neutral order), UK4 (polite request), UK5 (rude suggestion), UK6 (neutral urge), UK7 (neutral request), UK8 (neutral piece of advice), UK12 (neutral suggestion), UK13 (neutral piece of advice), UK15 (polite piece of advice), UK16 (rude piece of advice), UK17 (polite suggestion), UK18 (neutral request), UK19 (polite piece of advice), UK20 (neutral suggestion), UK22 (neutral piece of advice) and UK23 (rude suggestion)<br>UK20 and UK23 are male - UK1, UK3, UK12, UK17, UK19, UK20 and UK23 speak another language<br><br>PRC2 (neutral request), PRC3 (neutral order), PRC4 (neutral request), PRC5 (polite request), PRC6 (rude request), PRC7 (rude request), PRC10 (rude request), PRC11 (neutral piece of advice), PRC12 (polite request), PRC13 (polite order), PRC15 (polite suggestion), PRC17 (polite piece of advice), PRC19 (polite piece of advice), PRC22 (neutral order) and PRC24 (neutral suggestion)<br>PRC12, PRC15,1 PRC7 and PRC24 are male<br>PRC2, PRC4, PRC7, PRC10, PRC11, PRC13, PRC15 and PRC24 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS1 (neutral obligation), RUS3 (polite order), RUS4 (neutral order), RUS5 (neutral order), RUS6 (neutral obligation), RUS9 (polite order), RUS10 (polite piece of advice), RUS12 (neutral piece of advice), RUS14 (neutral piece of advice), RUS15 (polite piece of advice), RUS17 (neutral order), RUS18 (neutral piece of advice), RUS20 (neutral request), RUS21 (neutral order), RUS23 (polite opinion), RUS24 (polite urge), RUS25 (neutral piece of advice), RUS26 (polite opinion), RUS27 (neutral suggestion), RUS28 (neutral request) and RUS29 (rude request)<br>RUS6, RUS9 and RUS14 are male<br>RUS3, RUS4, RUS5, RUS12, RUS14, RUS15, RUS18, RUS24, RUS25, RUS28 and RUS29 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN2 (neutral suggestion), JPN3 (neutral request), JPN4 (neutral piece of advice), JPN6 (neutral request), JPN7 (neutral request), JPN10 (rude order), JPN12 (neutral request), JPN13 (neutral request), JPN15 (neutral order), JPN16 (neutral suggestion), JPN17 (neutral suggestion), JPN19 (neutral suggestion), JPN23 (neutral suggestion) and JPN24 (neutral request)<br>JPN3, JPN13, JPN15 and JPN16 are male<br>JPN2 and JPN24 speak another language besides English<br>JPN2, JPN3, JPN4, JPN6 and JPN23 have had stays abroad. | 18<br>85,71 %<br><br><br>

| **Should you change section 1? Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **No**<br>PRC14 (polite suggestion), female<br><br>JPN1 (neutral request), JPN11 (neutral piece of advice), JPN14 (neutral order) and JPN18 (neutral request)<br>JPN18 is male<br>JPN1 and JPN14 speak another language besides English<br>JPn11 and JPN18 have had stays abroad. | 0 | 4<br>19,05 | 1<br>4,35% | 0 |
| **Perhaps**<br>UK9 (neutral suggestion), UK11 (neutral suggestion) and UK14 (rude suggestion), all female, no other languages<br><br>PRC1 (rude piece of advice), PRC8 (polite piece of advice), PRC9 (neutral suggestion), PRC16 (polite suggestion), PRC20 (neutral opinion), PRC21 (neutral piece of advice), PRC23(polite piece of advice)<br>PRC8, PRC9 and PRC16 are male<br>PRC21 and PRC23 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS2 (neutral piece of advice), RUS11 (polite piece of advice), RUS13 (polite opinion) and RUS19 (neutral piece of advice)<br><br>JPN5 (polite piece of advice), JPN9 (rude piece of advice) and JPN21 (rude suggestion)<br>All female, all English only, JPN21 stay abroad. | 3<br>14,29<br>% | 3<br>14,29<br>% | 7<br>30,43<br>% | 4<br>16% |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 25 |

**FORM OF APPROACHING THE HEARER (direkte/indirekte opfordring)**

**Tekst 15***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but it needs to have more details in section 1.

Kind regards

| **Was this email: Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Polite**<br>UK1, UK4, UK15, UK17, UK19<br>All female, UK17 and UK19 speak other languages, but no stay abroad<br><br>PRC2 (3-3-5-5), PRC3 (6-5-6-6-), PRC5 (6-5-7-7), PRC7 (5-5-6-5), PRC8 (4-5-4-5), PRC9 (5-6-5-6), PRC12 (5-5-5-5), PRC13 (5-5-6-5), PRC14 (5-6-5-6), PRC15 (3-5-4-5), PRC16 (5-4-6-6), PRC17 (4-4-5-4), PRC21(4-3-4-4) and PRC23 (6-5-7-5)<br>PRC8, PRC9, PRC12, PRC15, PRC16 and PRC17 are male<br>PRC2, PRC7, PRC13, PRC15, PRC21 and PRC23 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS2 (4-5-4-3), RUS3 (5-5-5-5), RUS5 (5-4-5-5), RUS6 (4-4-5-4), RUS9 (4-6-6-6), RUS10 (5-6-6-4), RUS11 (5-5-5-5), RUS13 (4-5-5-5), RUS17 (5-4-6-5), RUS23 (6-5-6-6), RUS24 (3-3-4-4), RUS25 (4-5-5-4), RUS26 (5-4-5-4) and RUS29 (6-5-6-6)<br>RUS6 and RUS9 are male<br>RUS3, RUS5, RUS11, RUS24, RUS25 and RUS29 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN5 (3-2-3-2), JPN13 (4-3-4-4) and JPN14 (4-3-5-5)<br>JPN13 is male<br>JPN14 speaks another language besides English<br>No stays abroad. | 5<br>23,81<br>% | 3<br>14,29<br>% | 14<br>60,87<br>% | 14<br>56% |

| **Was this email: Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Neutral**<br>UK3, UK5, UK6, UK7, UK8, UK9, UK11, UK12, UK13, UK16, UK18, UK20, UK22<br>UK20 only male, UK3, UK12 and UK19 speak other languages, all with stays abroad<br><br>PRC4 (5-5-5-4), PRC6 (4-5-5-5), PRC10 (4-4-5-4), PRC11 (6-4-6-5), PRC19 (5-5-5-5), PRC20 (5-4-5-5), PRC22 (4-4-5-5) and PRC24 (4-5-5-5)<br>PRC24 is male, PRC4, PRC10, PRC11 and PRC24 speak another language besides English (PRC24 6 months in Sweden)<br><br>RUS1 (6-5-6-5), RUS4 (5-6-4-4), RUS12 (4-4-4-4), RUS14 (6-5-6-5), RUS15 (4-4-5-4), RUS18 (5-4-6-5), RUS19 (5-4-5-4), RUS20 (4-6-6-6), RUS21 (6-5-6-6), RUS27 (6-5-6-6) and RUS28 (5-5-6-6)<br>RUS14 is male, RUS4, RUS12, RUS14, RUS15, RUS18, RUS19 and RUS28 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN1 (3-4-3-4), JPN2 (3-3-3-4), JPN3 (4-4-4-4), JPN4 (5-5-6-6), JPN6 (4-3-5-5), JPN7 (4-4-3-3), JPN10 (3-3-3-4), JPN11 (5-6-6-6), JPN12 (3-3-4-3), JPN15 (5-5-5-5), JPN16 (4-4-5-3), JPN17 (5-4-5-4), JPN18 (4-3-4-3), JPN19 (3-3-3-3), JPN21 (3-4-2-4), JPN23 (6-5-5-6) and JPN24 (3-2-3-2)<br>JPN3, JPN15, JPN16 and JPN18 are male - JPN1, JPN2 and JPn24 speak another language besides English - JPN2, JPN3, JPN4, JPN6, JPN11, JPN18, JPN21 and JPN23 have had stays abroad. | 13<br>61,90 %<br><br><br>

| This was the professor's: Please select ONE | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Suggestion**<br>UK1 (polite), UK5 (neutral), UK9 (neutral), UK12 (neutral), UK14 (rude), UK17 (polite), UK23 (rude)<br>UK 23 is the only male, UK12, UK17 and UK23 speak other languages, UK17 with no stay abroad<br><br>PRC2 (polite), PRC4 (neutral), PRC10 (neutral), PRC13 (polite), PRC14 (polite), PRC15 (polite), PRC16 (polite), PRC20 (neutral), PRC22 (neutral), PRC24 (neutral)<br>PRC15, PRC16 and PRC24 are male, PRC2, PRC4, PRC10, PRC13, PRC15 and PRC24 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS10 (polite), RUS13 (polite) and RUS20 (neutral)<br>All female, English only<br><br>JPN3 (neutral), JPN17 (neutral), JPN19 (neutral) and JPN21 (neutral)<br>JPN3 is male, all are English only, but JPN3 has had a stay abroad | 7<br>33,33 % | 4<br>19,05 % | 10<br>43,48 % | 3<br>12% |
| **Order**<br>UK3 (neutral) – female, speak German with stay abroad<br><br>RUS5 (polite, female, speaks another language besides English.<br><br>JPN10 (neutral), JPN11 (neutral), JPN12 (neutral), JPN15 (neutral) and JPN16 (neutral)<br>JPN15 is male, all are English only, but JPN11 has had a stay abroad. | 1<br>4,76% | 5<br>23,81 % | 0 | 1<br>4% |
| **Piece of advice**<br>UK16 (neutral) and UK19 (polite), female UK19 speak French but no stay abroad<br><br>PRC6 (neutral), PRC7 (polite), PRC8 (polite), PRC11 (neutral), PRC12 (polite), PRC17 (polite), PRC21 (polite) and PRC23 (polite)<br>PRC8, PRC12 and PRC17 are male<br>PRC7, PRC11, PRC21 and PRC23 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS1 (neutral), RUS9 (polite), RUS11 (polite), RUS12 (neutral), RUS15 (neutral) and RUS25 (polite)<br>RUS9 is male, RUS11, RUS12, RUS15 and RUS25 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN4 (neutral), JPN9 (rude) and JPN23 (neutral)<br>All female, all English only, but JPN4 and JPN23 have had stays abroad. | 2<br>9,52% | 3<br>14,29 % | 8<br>34,78 % | 6<br>24% |
| **Warning**<br>UK15 (polite) – female, no other language | 1<br>4,76% | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| **This was the professor's: Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Opinion**<br>UK2 (rude) and UK6 (neutral) – female, no other language<br><br>PRC3 (polite), female only English<br><br>RUS2 (polite), RUS18 (neutral) and RUS16 (polite)<br>All female, RUS18 speaks another language besides English | 2<br>9,52% | 0 | 1<br>4,35% | 3<br>12% |
| **Obligation**<br>UK11 (neutral) – female no other language<br><br>PRC5 (polite) and PRC19 (neutral), female English only<br><br>RUS3 (polite), RUS4 (neutral) and RUS19 (neutral)<br>All female, all speak another language besides English. | 1<br>4,76% | 0 | 2<br>8,70% | 3<br>12% |
| **Request**<br>UK4 (polite), UK7 (neutral), UK18 (neutral) and UK20 (neutral)<br>UK20 is the only male and the only one speaking another language (stay abroad)<br><br>PRC1 (rude) and PRC9 (polite), female and male, English only<br><br>RUS21 (neutral), RUS23 (polite), RUS27 (neutral), RUS28 (neutral) and RUS29 (polite)<br>All female, RUS28 and RUS29 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN1 (neutral), JPN5 (polite), JPN6 (neutral), JPN7 (neutral), JPN13 (polite), JPN14 (polite), JPN18 (neutral) and JPN24 (neutral)<br>JPN13 and JPN18 are male - JPN1, JPN14 and JPN24 speak another language besides English - JPN6 and JPN18 have had stays abroad. | 4<br>19,05<br>% | 8<br>38,10<br>% | 2<br>8,70% | 5<br>20% |
| **Experience**<br>UK22 (neutral) – female no other language<br><br>RUS6 (polite), RUS14 (neutral), RUS17 (polite) and RUS24 (polite)<br>RUS6 and RUS14 are male, RUS14 and RUS224 speak another language besides English | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4<br>16% |
| **Urge**<br>UK8 (neutral) and UK13 (neutral), both female no other language<br><br>JPN2 (neutral)<br>Female, speaks another language besides English, incl. stay abroad. | 2 | 1<br>4,76% | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 23 | 21 | 23 | 25 |

| **Should you change section 1? Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Yes**<br>UK1(polite suggestion), UK2 (rude opinion), UK3(neutral order), UK4 (polite request), UK5(neutral suggestion), UK6 (netrual opinion), UK7 (neutral request), UK8 (neutral urge), UK11 (neutral obligation), UK12 (neutral suggestion), UK13 (neutral urge), UK15 (polite warning), UK16 (neutral piece of advice), UK17 (polite suggestion), UK18 (neutral request), UK19 (polite piece of advice), UK20 (neutral request), UK22 (neutral experience), UK23 (rude suggestion)<br><br>PRC2 (polite suggestion), PRC3 (polite opinion), PRC4 (neutral suggestion), PRC5 (polite obligation), PRC6 (neutral piece of advice), PRC7 (polite piece of advice), PRC9 (polite request), PRC10 (neutral suggestion), PRC11 (neutral piece of advice), PRC13 (polite suggestion), PRC15 (polite suggestion), PRC17 (polite piece of advice), PRC19 (neutral obligation), PRC20 (neutral suggestion), PRC21 (polite piece of advice) and PRC24 (neutral suggestion)<br>PRC9, PRC15, PRC17 and PRC24 are male - PRC2, PRC4, PRC7, PRC10, PRC11, PRC13, PRC15, PRC21 and PRC24 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS1 (neutral piece of advice), RUS3 (polite obligation), RUS4 (neutral obligation), RUS5 (polite order), RUS6 (polite experience), RUS9 (polite piece of advice), RUS10 (polite suggestion), RUS12 (neutral piece of advice), RUS13 (polite suggestion), RUS14 (neutral experience), RUS15 (neutral piece of advice), RUS17 (polite experience), RUS18 (neutral opinion), RUS19 (neutral obligation), RUS20 (neutral suggestion), RUS21 (neutral request), RUS23 (polite request), RUS25 (polite piece of advice), RUS26 (polite opinion), RUS27 (neutral request), RUS28 (neutral request) and RUS29 (polite request).<br>RUS6, RUS9 and RUS14 are male - RUS3, RUS4, RUS5, RUS12, RUS14, RUS15, RUS18, RUS19, RUS25, RUS28 and RUS29 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN2 (neutral urge), JPN3 (neutral suggestion), JPN4 (neutral piece of advice), JPN5 (polite request), JPN6 (neutral request), JPN7 (neutral request), JPN10 (neutral order), JPN11 (neutral order), JPN12 (neutral order), JPN13 (polite request), JPN14 (polite request), JPN15 (neutral order), JPN16 (neutral order), JPN17 (neutral suggestion), JPN19 (neutral suggestion), JPN23 (neutral piece of advice) and JPN24 (neutral request)<br>JPN3, JPN13, JPN15 and JPN16 are male - JPN2, JPN14 and JPN24 speak another language besides English.<br>JPN2, JPN3, JPN4, JPN6, JPN11 and JPN23 have had stays abroad. | 19<br>90,48<br>% | 17<br>80,95<br>% | 16<br>69,57<br>% | 22<br>88% |

| **Should you change section 1? Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **No**<br>JPN1 (neutral request), JPN18 (neutral request) and JPN21 (neutral suggestion)<br>JPN18 is male - JPN1 speaks another language besides English, JPN18 and JPN21 have had stays abroad. | 0 | 3<br>14,29<br>% | 0 | 0 |
| **Perhaps**<br>UK9 (neutral suggestion) and UK14 (rude suggestion) – female no other language<br><br>PRC1 (rude request), PRC8 (polite piece of advice), PRC12 (polite piece of advice), PRC14 (polite suggestion), PRC16 (polite suggestion), PRC22 (neutral suggestion) and PRC23 (polite piece of advice)<br><br>RUS2 (polite opinion), RUS11 (polite piece of advice) and RUS24 (polite experience)<br>All female, RUS11 and RUS24 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN9 (rude piece of advice)<br>Female, English only, no stay abroad | 2<br>9,52% | 1<br>4,76% | 7<br>30,43<br>% | 3<br>12% |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 25 |

**FORM OF APPROACHING THE HEARER (direkte/indirekte opfordring)**

**Tekst 20***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but I would probably include more details in section one.

Kind regards

| **Was this email: Please select ONE** | England | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Polite**<br>UK1, UK2, UK3, UK4, UK8, UK12, UK13, UK15, UK17, UK19, UK22<br>UK3, UK12, UK17 and UK19 speak other languages (UK3 and UK12 incl. stay abroad)<br><br>PRC2 (3-3-5-5), PRC3 (6-5-6-6), PRC5 (6-5-7-7), PRC6 (4-5-5-5), PRC8 (4-5-4-5), PRC9 (5-6-5-6), PRC10 (4-4-5-4), PRC12 (5-5-5-5), PRC14 (5-6-5-6), PRC15 (3-5-4-5), PRC16 (5-4-6-6), PRC17 (4-4-5-4), PRC19 (5-5-5-5), PRC20 (5-4-5-5), PRC22 (4-4-5-5) and PRC23 (6-5-7-5)<br>PRC8, PRC9, PRC12, PRC15, PRC16 and PRC17 are male - PRC2, PRC10, PRC15 and PRC23 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS1 (6-5-6-5), RUS5 (5-4-5-5), RUS6 (4-4-5-4), RUS9 (4-6-6-6), RUS11 (5-5-5-5), RUS12 (4-4-4-4), RUS13 (4-5-5-5), RUS15 (4-4-5-4), RUS17 (5-4-6-5), RUS23 (6-5-6-6), RUS24 (3-3-4-4), RUS25 (4-5-5-4), RUS26 (5-4-5-4), RUS27 (6-5-6-6) and RUS29 (6-5-6-6)<br>RUS6 and RUS9 are male - RUS5, RUS11, RUS12, RUS15, RUS24, RUS25 and RUS29 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN1 (3-4-3-4), JPN2 (3-3-3-4), JPN4 (5-5-6-6), JPN5 (3-2-3-2), JPN7 (4-4-3-3), JPN11 (5-6-6-6), JPN12 (3-3-4-3), JPN13 (4-3-4-4), JPN14 (4-3-5-5), JPN15 (5-5-5-5), JPN16 (4-4-5-3), JPN19 (3-3-3-3), JPN21 (3-4-2-4) and JPN23 (6-5-5-6)<br>JPN13, JPN15 and JPN16 are male - JPN1, JPN2 and JPN14 speak another language besides English - JPN2, JPN4, JPN11, JPN21 and JPN23 have had stays abroad. | 11<br>52,38 %<br><br><br>

| **Was this email: Please select ONE** | England | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Neutral**<br>UK5, UK6, UK7, UK9, UK11, UK16, UK18, UK20, UK23<br>UK20 and UK23 are male and the only ones with other languages (incl. stay abroad)<br><br>PRC1 (5-5-6-6), PRC4 (5-5-5-4), PRC7 (5-5-6-5), PRC11 (6-4-6-5), PRC13 (5-5-6-5), PRC21 (4-3-4-4) and PRC24 (4-5-5-5)<br>PRC24 is male - PRC4, PRC7, PRC11, PRC13, PRC21 and PRC24 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS2 (4-5-4-3), RUS3 (5-5-5-5), RUS4 (5-6-4-4), RUS10 (5-6-6-4), RUS14 (6-5-6-5), RUS18 (5-4-6-5), RUS19 (5-4-5-4), RUS20 (4-6-6-6), RUS21 (6-5-6-6) and RUS28 (5-5-6-6)<br>RUS14 is male - RUS3, RUS4, RUS14, RUS18, RUS19 and RUS28 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN3 (4-4-4-4), JPN6 (4-3-5-5), JPN9 (3-3-4-3), JPN10 (3-3-3-4), JPN17 (5-4-5-4), JPN18 (4-3-4-3) and JPN24 (3-2-3-2)<br>JPN3 and JPN18 are male - JPN24 speak another language besides English - JPN3, JPN6 and JPN18 have had stays abroad. | 9<br>42,86 %<br><br><br>

| **This was the professor's: Please select ONE** | England | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Order**<br>RUS3 (neutral), female, speaks another language besides English.<br><br>JPN9 (neutral), female English only, no stay abroad. | 0 | 1<br>4,76% | 0 | 1<br>4% |
| Piece of advice<br>UK3 (polite), UK4 (polite), UK5 (neutral), UK11 (neutral), UK16 (neutral), UK22 (polite)<br>All female, only UK3 speak another language (incl. stay abroad)<br><br>PRC4 (neutral), PRC6 (polite), PRC8 (polite), PRC10 (polite), PRC11 (neutral), PRC17 (polite), PRC20 (polite) and PRC22 (polite)<br>PRC8 and PRC17 are male<br>PRC4, PRC10 and PRC11 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS5 (polite), RUS11 (polite), RUS15 (polite), RUS18 (neutral) and RUS28 (neutral)<br>All female, all speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN4 (polite), JPN5 (polite) and JPN15 (polite)<br>JPN15 is male<br>All are English only, JPN4 with stay abroad. | 6<br>28,57% | 3<br>14,29% | 8<br>34,78% | 5<br>20% |
| **Warning**<br>RUS13 (polite), female English only | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1<br>4% |
| **Opinion**<br>UK13 (polite), UK14 (rude) and UK20 (neutral)<br>UK 20 is male and the only one speaking another language incl. stay abroad, all three chose perhaps change section one<br><br>PRC2 (polite), PRC7 (neutral), PRC9 (polite), PRC13 (neutral), PRC14 (polite), PRC19 (polite), PRC21 (neutral) and PRC23 (polite)<br>PRC9 is male - PRC2, PRC7, PRC13, PRC21 and PRC23 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS1 (polite), RUS4 (neutral), RUS6 (polite), RUS9 (polite), RUS12 (polite), RUS17 (polite), RUS24 (polite), RUS26 (polite) and RUS29 (polite)<br>RUS6 and RUS9 are male - RUS4, RUS12, RUS24 and RUS29 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN3 (neutral), JPN11 (polite), JPN14 (polite), JPN16 (polite) and JPN23 (polite)<br>JPN3 and JPN16 are male - JPN14 speaks another language besides English, JPN3, JPN11 and JPN23 have had stays abroad | 3<br>14,29% | 5<br>23,81% | 8<br>34,78% | 9<br>36% |
| **Obligation** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| **This was the professor's: Please select ONE** | England | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Request**<br>UK18 (neutral), female no other language<br><br>PRC12 (polite), male only English<br><br>RUS20 (neutral) and RUS23 (polite)<br>Both female, English only<br><br>JPN1 (polite), JPN7 (polite), JPN18 (neutral), JPN21 (polite) and JPN24 (neutral)<br>JPN18 is male - JPN1 and JPN24 speak another language besides English - JPN18 and JPN21 have had stays abroad. | 1<br>4,76% | 5<br>23,81% | 1<br>4,35% | 2<br>8% |
| **Experience**<br>UK2 (polite), female no other language<br><br>PRC5 (polite), female only English<br><br>RUS10 (Neutral), female , English only<br><br>JPN13 (polite), male, English only, no stay. | 1<br>4,76% | 1<br>4,76% | 1<br>4,35% | 1<br>4% |
| **Urge**<br>PRC1 (neutral), female only English | 0 | 0 | 1<br>4,35% | 0 |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 25 |

| **Should you change section 1? Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Yes**<br>UK1 (polite suggestion), UK2 (polite experience), UK3 (polite piece of advice), UK4 (polite piece of advice), UK5 (neutral piece of advice), UK6 (neutral suggestion), UK7, (neutral suggestion) UK12 (polite suggestion), UK15 (polite suggestion), UK16 (neutral piece of advice), UK17 (polite suggestion), UK18 (neutral request), UK22 (polite piece of advice), UK23 (neutral suggestion)<br>UK23 is male<br>UK3, UK12, UK17 and UK23 speak other languages (UK17 with no stay abroad)<br><br>PRC1 (neutral urge), PRC2 (polite opinion), PRC3 (polite suggestion), PRC5 (polite experience), PRC10 (polite piece of advice), PRC11 (neutral piece of advice), PRC12 (polite request), PRC15 (polite suggestion), PRC17 (polite piece of advice), PRC22 (polite piece of advice), PRC23 (polite opinion) and PRC24 (neutral suggestion)<br>PRC12, PRC15, PRC17 and PRC24 are male<br>PRC2, PRC10, PRC11, PRC15, PRC23 and PRC24 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS3 (neutral order), RUS4 (neutral opinion), RUS15 (polite piece of advice), RUS18 (neutral piece of advice), RUS20 (neutral request), RUS21 (neutral suggestion), RUS23 (polite request), RUS25 (polite suggestion) and RUS26 (polite opinion)<br>All female, RUS3, RUS4, RUS15, RUS18 and RUS25 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN2 (polite suggstion), JPN4 (polite piece of advice), JPN19 (polite suggestion) and JPN24 (neutral request)<br>All female, JPN2 and JPN24 speak another language besides English, JPN2 and JPN4 have had stays abroad. | 14<br>66,66<br>% | 4<br>19,05<br>% | 12<br>52,17<br>% | 9<br>36% |
| **No**<br>PRC4 (neutral piece of advice), PRC7 (neutral opinion), PRC8 (polite piece of advice) and PRC13 (neutral opinion)<br>PRC8 is male and the only one not speaking another language besides English<br><br>RUS10 (neutral experience) and RUS13 (polite warning), all female English only<br><br>JPN1 (polite request), JPN13 (polite experience), JPN18 (neutral request) and JPN21 (polite request)<br>JPN13 and JPN18 are male, JPN1 speaks another language besides English, JPN18 and JPN21 have had stays abroad. | 0 | 4<br>19,05<br>% | 4<br>17,39<br>% | 2<br>8% |

| **Should you change section 1? Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Perhaps**<br>UK8 (polite suggestion), UK9 (neutral suggestion), UK11 (neutral piece of advice), UK13 (polite opinion), UK14 (rude opinion), UK19 (polite suggestion), UK20 (neutral opinion)<br>UK20 is male<br>UK19 and UK20 speak other languages (only UK20 with stay abroad)<br><br>PRC6 (polite piece of advice), PRC9 (polite opinion), PRC14 (polite opinion), PRC16 (polite suggestion), PRC19 (polite opinion), PRC20 (polite piece of advice) and PRC21(neutral opinion)<br>PRC9 and PRC16 are male<br>PRC21 speaks another language besides English<br><br>RUS1 (polite opinon), RUS2 (neutral suggestion), RUS5 (polite piece of advice), RUS6 (polite opinion), RUS9 (polite opinon), RUS11 (polite piece of advice), RUS12 (polite opinion), RUS14 (neutral suggestion), RUS17 (polite opinion), RUS19 (neutral suggestion), RUS24 (polite opinion), RUS27 (polite suggestion), RUS28 (neutral piece of advice) and RUS29 (polite opinion)<br>RUS6, RUS9 and RUS14 are male<br>RUS5, RUS11, RUS12, RUS14, RUS19, RUS24, RUS28 and RUS29 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN3 (neutral opinion), JPN5 (polite piece of advice), JPN6 (neutral suggestion), JPN7 (polite request), JPN9 (neutral order), JPN10 (neutral suggestion), JPN11 (polite opinion), JPN12 (polite suggestion), JPN14 (polite opinion), JPN15 (polite piece of advice), JPN16 (polite opinion), JPN17 (neutral suggestion) and JPN23 (polite opinion)<br>JPN3, JPN15 and JPN16 are male<br>JPN14 speaks another language besides English<br>JPN3, JPN6, JPN11 and JPN23 have had stays abroad. | 7<br>33,33<br>% | 13<br>61,90<br>% | 7<br>30,43<br>% | 14<br>56% |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 25 |

**FORM OF APPROACHING THE HEARER (direkte/indirekte opfordring)**

**Tekst 26***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but why don't you include more details in section 1?

Kind regards

| **Was this email: Please selecet ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Polite**<br>UK1, UK2, UK3, UK4, UK8, UK11, UK12, UK16, UK17, UK22<br>UK3, UK12 and UK17 speak other languages, UK17 no stay abroad<br><br>PRC6 (4-5-5-5), PRC7 (5-5-6-5), PRC8 (4-5-4-5), PRC9 (5-6-5-6), PRC14 (5-6-5-6), PRC15 (3-5-4-5), PRC17 (4-4-5-4) and PRC21 (4-3-4-4)<br>PRC8, PRC9, PRC15 and PRC17 are male<br>PRC7, PRC15 and PRC21 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS2 (4-5-4-3), RUS3 (5-5-5-5), RUS5 (5-4-5-5), RUS6 (4-4-5-4), RUS9 (4-6-6-6), RUS12 (4-4-4-4), RUS13 (4-5-5-5), RUS17 (5-4-6-5), RUS23 (6-5-6-6), RUS24 (3-3-4-4), RUS26 (5-4-5-4), RUS27 (6-5-6-6) and RUS29 (6-5-6-6)<br>RUS6 and RUS9 are male<br>RUS3, RUS5, RUS12, RUS24 and RUS29 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN3 (4-4-4-4), JPN10 (3-3-3-4), JPN12 (3-3-4-3), JPN15 (5-5-5-5) and JPN23 (6-5-5-6)<br>JPN3 and JPN15 are male<br>All are English only, JPN3 and JPN23 incl. stay abroad. | 10<br>47,62 % | 5<br>23,81 % | 8<br>34,78 % | 13<br>52% |

| **Was this email: Please selecet ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Neutral<br>UK5, UK6, UK7, UK9, UK15, UK18, UK19, UK20, UK23<br>UK20 and UK23 are male and speak other languages, incl. stay abroad<br><br>PRC1 (5-5-6-6), PRC2 (3-3-5-5), PRC3 (6-5-6-6), PRC5 (6-5-7-7), PRC11 (6-4-6-5), PRC12 (5-5-5-5), PRC13 (5-5-6-5), PRC16 (5-4-6-6), PRC19 (5-5-5-5), PRC20 (5-4-5-5), PRC22 (4-4-5-5) and PRC24 (4-5-5-5)<br>PRC12, PRC16 and PRC24 are male<br>PRC2, PRC11, PRC13 and PRC24 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS1 (6-5-6-5), RUS4 (5-6-4-4), RUS10 (5-6-6-4), RUS14 (6-5-6-5), RUS15 (4-4-5-4), RUS18 (5-4-6-5), RUS19 (5-4-5-4), RUS20 (4-6-6-6) and RUS28 (5-5-6-6)<br>RUS14 is male<br>RUS4, RUS14, RUS15, RUS18, RUS19 and RUS28 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN1 (3-4-3-4), JPN2 (3-3-3-4), JPN5 (3-2-3-2), JPN6 (4-3-5-5), JPN7 (4-4-3-3), JPN9 (3-3-4-3), JPN13 (4-3-4-4), JPN14 (4-3-5-5), JPN16 (4-4-5-3), JPN17 (5-4-5-4), JPN18 (4-3-4-3), JPN19 (3-3-3-3), JPN21 (3-4-2-4) and JPN24 (3-2-3-2) | 9<br>42,86 % | 14<br>66,66 % | 12<br>52,17 % | 9<br>36% |
| **Rude**<br>UK13 and UK14 – female no other languages<br><br>PRC4 (5-5-5-4), PRC10 (4-4-5-4) and PRC23 (6-5-7-5)<br>All female, all speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS11 (5-5-5-5), RUS21 (6-5-6-6) and RUS25 (4-5-5-4)<br>All female, RUS11 and RUS25 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN4 (5-5-6-6) and JPN11 (5-6-6-6)<br>Both female, English only with stays abroad. | 2<br>9,52% | 2<br>9,52% | 3<br>13,04 % | 3<br>12% |
| Total | 21 | 24 | 23 | 25 |

This was the professor's: Please select ONE

| | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Suggestion**<br>UK2 (polite), UK4 (polite), UK6 (neutral), UK9 (neutral), UK11 (polite), UK13 (rude), UK17 (polite), UK22 (polite), UK23 (neutral)<br>UK23 is male<br>UK17 and UK23 speak other languages, UK23 only with stay abroad<br><br>PRC1 (neutral), PRC2 (neutral), PRC3 (neutral), PRC5 (neutral), PRC7 (polite), PRC11 (neutral), PRC14 (polite), PRC15 (polite), PRC16 (neutral), PRC20 (neutral) and PRC24 (neutral)<br>PRC15, PRC16 and PRC24 are male<br>PRC2, PRC7, PRC11, PRC15 and PRC24 speak another language besides English, PRC24 6 months in Sweden<br><br>RUS2 (polite), RUS4 (neutral), RUS5 (polite), RUS14 (neutral) and RUS28 (neutral)<br>RUS14 is male<br>RUS4, RUS5, RUS14 and RUS28 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN3 (polite), JPN6 (neutral), JPN9 (neutral), JPN12 (polite), JPN14 (neutral), JPN15 (polite), JPN16 (neutral), JPN17 (neutral) and JPN21 (neutral)<br>JPN3, JPN15 and JPN16 are male<br>JNP14 speaks another language besides English<br>JPN3, JPN6 and JPN21 have had stays abroad. | 9<br>42,86 %<br><br><br>

| | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Warning**<br>PRC4 (rude), female, speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS9 (polite) and RUS21 (rude)<br>RUS9 is male, both are English only<br><br>JPN13 (neutral), male, English only, no stay abroad. | 0 | 1<br>4,76 | 1<br>4,35% | 2<br>8% |
| **Opinion**<br>UK14(rude) and UK16 (polite) – female no other languages<br><br>PRC6 (polite) and PRC22 (neutral), female only English<br><br>RUS10 (neutral), RUS11 (rude), RUS26 (polite) and RUS27 (polite)<br>All female, RUS11 speaks another language besides English.<br><br>JPN19 (neutral), female, English only, no stay abroad. | 2<br>9,52% | 1<br>4,76% | 2<br>8,70% | 4<br>16% |
| **Obligation**<br>UK1 (polite) and UK15 (neutral) – female no other languages<br><br>RUS24 (polite) and RUS25 (rude)<br>Both female, both speak another language besides English. | 2<br>9,52% | 0 | 0 | 2<br>8% |
| **Request**<br>UK3 (polite), UK7 (neutral) and UK18 (neutral) – female,<br>UK3 speak another language incl. stay abroad<br><br>PRC8 (polite) and PRC19 (neutral)<br>PRC8 is male, both English only<br><br>RUS1 (neutral), RUS12 (polite), RUS20 (neutral) and RUS23 (polite)<br>All female, RUS12 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN1 (neutral), JPN7 (neutral), JPN18 (neutral) and JPN24 (neutral)<br>JPN18 is male, JPN1 and JPN24 speak another language besides English, JPN7 and JPN24 have had stays abroad. | 3<br>14,29<br>% | 4<br>19,05<br>% | 2<br>8,70% | 4<br>16% |
| **Experience**<br>RUS17 (polite), female English only | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1<br>4% |
| **Urge**<br>UK5 (neutral) – female no other language<br><br>PRC12 (neutral), PRC13 (neutral) and PRC23 (rude)<br>PRC12 is male<br>PRC13 and PRC23 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS13 (polite) and RUS19 (neutral)<br>Both female, RUS19 speaks another language besides English. | 1<br>4,76% | 0 | 3<br>13,04<br>% | 2<br>8% |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 25 |

| **Should you change section 1? Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Perhaps**<br>UK4 (polite suggestion), UK9 (neutral suggestion), UK12 (polite piece of advice) and UK14 (rude opinion) – all female, UK12 speak another language incl stay abroad<br><br>PRC1(Neutral Suggestion), PRC9 (polite piece od advice), PRC10 (rude order), PRC12 (neutral urge), PRC13 (neutral urge), PRC14 (polite suggestion), PRC16 (neutral suggestion), PRC20 (neutral suggestion) and PRC22 (neutral opinion)<br>PRC9, PRC12 and PRC16 are male<br>PRC10 and PRC13 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS1 (neutral request), RUS2 (polite suggestion), RUS3 (polite piece of advice), RUS5 (polite suggestion), RUS9 (polite warning), RUS11 (rude opinion), RUS12 (polite request), RUS13 (polite urge), RUS14 (neutral suggestion), RUS17 (polite experience), RUS27 (polite opinion) and RUS29 (polite piece of advice).<br>RUS9 and RUS14 are male<br>RUS3, RUS5, RUS11, RUS12, RUS14 and RUS29 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN5 (neutral piece of advice), JPN9 (neutral suggestion), JPN10 (polite piece of advice), JPN14 (neutral suggestion) and JPN16 (neutral suggestion)<br>JPN16 is male<br>JPN14 speaks another language besides English, no stays abroad. | 4<br>19,05<br>% | 5<br>23,81<br>% | 9<br>39,13<br>% | 12<br>48% |

| **Should you change section 1? Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Yes**<br>UK1 (polite obligation), UK2 (polite suggestion), UK3 (polite request), UK5 (neutral urge), UK6 (neutral suggestion), UK7 (neutral request), UK8 (polite request), UK11 (polite suggestion), UK13 (rude suggestion), UK15 (neutral obligation), UK16 (polite opinion), UK17 (polite suggestion), UK18 (neutral request), UK19 (neutral piece of advice), UK20 (neutral piece of advice), UK22 (polite suggestion), UK23 (neutral suggestion)<br>UK20 and UK23 are male<br>UK3, UK17, UK19, UK20 and UK23 speak other languages (UK17 and UK19 no stay abroad)<br><br>PRC2 (neutral suggestion), PRC3 (neutral suggestion), PRC4 (rude warning), PRC5 (neutral suggestion), PRC6 (polite opinion), PRC7 (polite suggestion), PRC8 (polite request), PRC11(neutral suggestion), PRC15 (polite suggestion), PRC17 (polite piece of advice), PRC19 (neutral request), PRC21 (polite piece of advice), PRC23 (rude urge) and PRC24 (neutral suggestion)<br>PRC8, PRC15, PRC17 and PRC24 are male<br>PRC2, PRC4, PRC7, PRC11, PRC15, PRC21, PRC23 and PRC24 speak another language besides English<br><br>RUS4 (neutral suggestion), RUS6 (polite piece of advice), RUS10 (neutral opinion), RUS15 (neutral piece of advice), RUS18 (neutral piece of advice), RUS19 (neutral urge), RUS20 (neutral request), RUS21 (rude warning), RUS23 (polite request), RUS24 (polite obligation), RUS25 (rude obligation), RUS26 (polite opinion) and RUS28 (neutral suggestion)<br>RUS6 is male<br>RUS4, RUS15, RUS18, RUS19, RUS24, RUS25 and RUS28 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN2 (neutral order), JPN3 (polite suggestion), JPN4 (rude piece of advice), JPN6 (neutral suggestion), JPN7 (neutral request), JPN11 (rude order), JPN12 (polite suggestion), JPN13 (neutral warning), JPN15 (polite suggestion), JPN17 (neutral suggestion), JPN19 (neutral opinion), JPN23 (polite piece of advice) and JPN24 (neutral request)<br>JPN3, JPN13 and JPN15 are male<br>JPN2 and JPN24 speak another language besides English.<br>JPN2, JPN3, JPN4, JPN6, JPN11 and JPN23 have had stays abroad. | 17<br>80,95<br>% | 13<br>61,90<br>% | 14<br>60,87<br>% | 13<br>52% |
| **No**<br>JPN1 (neutral request), JPN18 (neutral request) and JPN21 (neutral suggestion)<br>JPN18 is male<br>JPN1 speaks another language besides English<br>JPN18 and JPN21 have had stays abroad | 0 | 3<br>14,29<br>% | 0 | 0 |

| **Should you change section 1? Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 25 |

**FORM OF APPROACHING THE HEARER (direkte/indirekte opfordring)**

**Tekst 33***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but couldn't you include more details in section 1?

Kind regards

| **Was this email: Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Polite**<br>UK12 and UK17 - female, both speak other languages, only UK12 with stay abroad<br><br>PRC3 (6-5-6-6), PRC14 (5-6-5-6), PRC15 (3-5-4-5) and PRC17 (4-4-5-4)<br>PRC15 and PRC17 are male, PRC15 speaks another language besides English<br><br>RUS1 (6-5-6-5), RUS3 (5-5-5-5), RUS4 (5-6-4-4), RUS5 (5-4-5-5), RUS6 (4-4-5-4), RUS9 (4-6-6-6), RUS10 (5-6-6-4), RUS11 (5-5-5-5), RUS12 (4-4-4-4), RUS13 (4-5-5-5), RUS15 (4-4-5-4), RUS17 (5-4-6-5), RUS18 (5-4-6-5), RUS19 (5-4-5-4), RUS21 (6-5-6-6), RUS23 (6-5-6-6), RUS24 (3-3-4-4), RUS25 (4-5-5-4), RUS26 (5-4-5-4) and RUS29 (6-5-6-6)<br>RUS6 and RUS9 are male - RUS3, RUS4, RUS5, RUS11, RUS12, RUS15, RUS18, RUS19, RUS24, RUS25 and RUS29 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN3 (4-4-4-4), JPN4 (5-5-6-6), JPN5 (3-2-3-2), JPN7 (4-4-3-3), JPN9 (3-3-4-3), JPN13 (4-3-4-4), JPN15 (5-5-5-5), JPN16 (4-4-5-3), JPN17 (5-4-5-4) and JPN23 (6-5-5-6)<br>JPN3, JPN13, JPN15 and JPN23 are male - All are English only, JPN3, JPN4 and JPN24 incl. stay abroad. | 2<br>9,52% | 10<br>47,62 % | 4<br>17,39 % | 20<br>80% |

| **Was this email: Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Neutral**<br>UK1, UK2, UK5, UK6, UK9, UK13, UK15, UK18, UK19, UK23<br>UK23 is male<br>UK19 and UK23 speak other languages, only UK23 with stay abroad<br><br>PRC6 (4-5-5-5), PRC8 (4-5-4-5), PRC10 (4-4-5-4), PRC12 (5-5-5-5) and PRC24 (4-5-5-5)<br>PRC8, PRC12 and PRC24 are male<br>PRC10 and PRC24 speaks another language besides English<br><br>RUS2 (4-5-4-3), RUS14 (6-5-6-5), RUS20 (4-6-6-6), RUS27 (6-5-6-6) and RUS28 (5-5-6-6)<br>RUS14 is male<br>RUS14 and RUS28 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN6 (4-3-5-5), JPN12 (3-3-4-3), JPN18 (4-3-4-3), JPN19 (3-3-3-3), JPN21 (3-4-2-4) and JPN24 (3-2-3-2)<br>JPN18 is male<br>JPN24 speaks another language besides English, JPN6, JPN18 and JPN24 have had stays abroad. | 10<br>47,62<br>% | 6<br>28,57<br>% | 5<br>21,74<br>% | 5<br>20% |
| **Rude**<br>UK3, UK4, UK7, UK8, UK11, UK14, UK16, UK20, UK22<br>UK20 is male<br>UK3 and UK20 speak other languages incl. stay abroad<br><br>PRC1 (5-5-6-6), PRC2 (3-3-5-5), PRC4 (5-5-5-4), PRC5 (6-5-7-7), PRC7 (5-5-6-5), PRC9 (5-6-5-6), PRC11 (6-4-6-5), PRC13 (5-5-6-5), PRC16 (5-4-6-6), PRC19 (5-5-5-5), PRC20 (5-4-5-5), PRC21 (4-3-4-4), PRC22 (4-4-5-5) and PRC23 (6-5-7-5)<br>PRC9 and PRC16 are male<br>PRC2, PRC4, PRC7, PRC11, PRC13, PRC21 and PRC23 speak another language besides English<br><br>JPN1 (3-4-3-4), JPN2 (3-3-3-4), JPN10 (3-3-3-4), JPN11 (5-6-6-6) and JPN14 (4-3-5-5)<br>All female, JPN1, JPN2 and JPN14 speak another language besides English, JPN2 and JPN11 have had stays abroad. | 9<br>42,86<br>% | 5<br>23,81<br>% | 14<br>60,87<br>% | 0 |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 26 |

| This was the professor's: Please select ONE | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Suggestion**<br>UK5 (neutral), UK9 (neutral), UK12 (polite) and UK17 (polite), all female, UK12 and UK17 other languages, UK12 incl. stay abroad<br><br>PRC6 (neutral), PRC14 (polite), PRC15 (polite) and PRC24 (neutral)<br>PRC15 and PRC24 are male and speaks another language besides English<br><br>RUS13 (polite), female English only<br><br>JPN7 (polite), JPN16 (polite) and JPN19 (neutral)<br>JPN16 is male, all are English only, no stay abroad. | 4<br>19,05 % | 3<br>14,29 % | 4<br>17,39 % | 1<br>4% |
| **Order**<br>UK4 (rude) and UK7 (rude), both female no other languages<br><br>PRC7 (rude) and PRC21 (rude)<br>Both female, both speak other languages besides English<br><br>RUS9 (polite) and RUS19 (polite)<br>RUS9 is male<br>RUS19 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN1 (rude), JPN3 (polite), JPN10 (rude) and JPN11 (rude)<br>JPN3 is male, JPN1 speaks another language besides English<br>JPN3 and JPN11 have had stays abroad. | 2<br>9,52% | 4<br>19,05 % | 2<br>8,70% | 2<br>8% |
| **Piece of advice**<br>UK20 (rude) and UK23(neutral), both male and speak other languages incl. stay abroad<br><br>PRC3 (polite) and PRC17 (polite)<br>PRC 17 is male<br>Both English only<br><br>RUS10 (polite), RUS11 (polite), RUS12 (polite), RUS17 (polite), RUS21 (polite), RUS24 (polite) and RUS27 (neutral)<br>All female, RUS11, RUS12 and RUS24 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN12 (neutral), female English only, no stay abroad. | 2<br>9,52% | 1<br>4,76% | 2<br>8,70% | 7<br>28% |
| **Warning**<br>UK19 (neutral), female other language but no stay abroad<br><br>PRC4 (rude), female speaks other language besides English<br><br>JPN21 (neutral), female, English only incl. stay abroad. | 1<br>4,76% | 1<br>4,76% | 1<br>4,35% | 0 |

| **This was the professor's: Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Opinion**<br>UK1 (neutral), UK11 (rude), UK14 (rude) and UK22 (rude)<br>All female, no other languages<br><br>PRC1 (rude), PRC10 (neutral), PRC13 (rude) and PRC22 (rude)<br>All female, PRC10 and PRC13 speaks another language besides English<br><br>RUS18 (polite), female speaks another language besides English.<br><br>JPN2 (rude) and JPN14 (rude)<br>Both female, speak other languages, no stays abroad | 4<br>19,05 % | 2<br>9,52% | 4<br>17,39 % | 1<br>4% |
| **Obligation**<br>UK15 (neutral), no other languages | 1<br>4,76% | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Request**<br>UK8 (rude), UK13 (neutral), UK16 (rude) and UK18 (neutral)<br>all female no other languages<br><br>PRC5 (rude), PRC8 (neutral) and PRC9 (rude)<br>PRC8 and PRC9 are male<br>All three are English only<br><br>RUS1 (polite), RUS2 (neutral), RUS3 (polite), RUS4 (polite), RUS5 (polite), RUS6 (polite), RUS14 (neutral), RUS15 (polite), RUS20 (neutral), RUS23 (polite), RUS25 (polite), RUS26 (polite), RUS28 (neutral) and RUS29 (polite)<br>RUS6 and RUS14 are male<br>RUS3, RUS4, RUS5, RUS14, RUS15, RUS25, RUS28 and RUS29 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN4 (polite), JPN5 (polite), JPN6 (neutral), JPN9 (polite), JPN13 (polite), JPN15 (polite), JPN17 (polite), JPN18 (neutral), JPN23 (polite) and JPN24 (neutral)<br>JPN13, JPN15 and JPN18 are male<br>JPN24 speaks another language besides English<br>JPN4, JPN6, JPN18 and JPN23 have had stays abroad. | 4<br>19,05 % | 10<br>47,62 % | 3<br>13,04 % | 14<br>56% |
| **Experience** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Urge**<br>UK2 (neutral), UK3 (rude) and UK6 (neutral), all female, UK3 speak other languages incl. stay abroad<br><br>PRC2 (rude), PRC11 (rude), PRC12 (neutral), PRC16 (rude), PRC19 (rude), PRC20 (rude) and PRC23 (rude)<br>PRC12 and PRC16 are male<br>PRC2, PRC11 and PRC23 speaks another language besides English | 3<br>14,29 % | 0 | 7<br>30,43 % | 0 |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 24 | 25 |

| **Should you change section 1? Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Yes**<br>UK1 (neutral opinion), UK2 (neutral urge), UK3 (rude urge), UK4 (rude order), UK5 (neutral suggestion), UK6 (neutral urge), UK7 (rude order), UK8 (rude request), UK11 (rude opinion), UK13 (neutral request), UK15 (neutral obligation), UK16 (rude request), UK17 (polite suggestion), UK18 (neutral request), UK19 (neutral warning), UK20 (rude piece of advice), UK23 (neutral piece of advice)<br>UK20 and UK23 are male, UK3, UK17, UK19, UK20 and UK23 speak other languages, UK17 and UK19 no stay abroad.<br><br>PRC2 (Rude Urge), PRC3 (polite piece of advice), PRC4 (rude warning), PRC5 (rude request), PRC6 (neutral suggestion), PRC7 (rude order), PRC8 (neutral request), PRC9 (rude request), PRC10 (neutral opinion), PRC14 (polite suggestion), PRC15 (polite suggestion), PRC17 (polite piece of advice), PRC19 (rude urge), PRC23 (rude urge) and PRC24 (neutral suggestion)<br>PRC8, PRC9, PRC15, PRC17 and PRC24 are male<br>PRC2, PRC4, PRC7, PRC10, PRC15, PRC23 and PRC24 speak another language besides English, PRC24 6 months in Sweden<br><br>RUS1 (polite request), RUS4 (polite request), RUS5 (polite request), RUS6 (polite request), RUS9 (polite order), RUS10 (polite piece of advice), RUS11 (polite piece of advice), RUS12 (polite piece of advice), RUS13 (polite suggestion), RUS14 (neutral request), RUS15 (polite request), RUS17 (polite piece of advice), RUS18 (polite opinion), RUS19 (polite order), RUS20 (neutral request), RUS21 (polite piece of advice), RUS23 (polite request), RUS24 (polite piece of advice), RUS25 (polite request), RUS26 (polite request), RUS27 (neutral piece of advice), RUS28 (neutral request) and RUS29 (polite request)<br>RUS6, RUS9 and RUS14 are male - RUS4, RUS5, RUS11, RUS12, RUS14, RUS15, RUS18, RUS19, RUS24, RUS25, RUS28 and RUS29 speak another language besides English.<br><br>JPN3 (polite order), JPN4 (polite request), JPN5 (polite request), JPN6 (neutral request), JPN7 (polite suggestion), JPN10 (rude order), JPN11 (rude order), JPN13 (polite request), JPN15 (polite request), JPN16 (polite suggestion), JPN17 (polite request), JPN19 (neutral suggestion), JPN23 (polite request) and JPN24 (neutral request)<br>JPN3, JPN13, JPN15 and JPN16 are male - JPN24 speak another language besides English - JPN3, JPN4, JPN6, JPN11 and JPN23 have had stays abroad. | 17<br>80,95<br>% | 14<br>66,66<br>% | 15<br>65,22<br>% | 23<br>92% |

| **Should you change section 1? Please select ONE** | UK | Japan | China | Russia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **No**<br>UK22 (rude opinion), female no other languages<br><br>PRC13 (rude opinion) and PRC21 (rude order), both female speak other languages besides English<br><br>JPN1 (rude order), JPN18 (neutral request) and JPN21 (neutral warning)<br>JPN18 is male - JPN1 speaks another language besides English, JPN18 and JPN21 have had stays abroad. | 1<br>4,76% | 3<br>14,29 % | 2<br>8,70% | 0 |
| **Perhaps**<br>UK9 (neutral suggestion), UK12 (polite suggestion) and UK14 (rude opinion)<br>All female, UK12 speak other languages incl. stay abroad<br><br>PRC1 (rude opinion), PRC11 (rude urge), PRC12 (neutral urge), PRC16 (rude urge), PRC20 (rude urge) and PRC22 (rude opinion)<br>PRC12 and PRC16 are male - PRC11 speaks another language besides English<br><br>RUS2 (neutral request) and RUS3 (polite request)<br>Both female, RUS3 speaks another language besides English.<br><br>JPN2 (rude opinion), JPN9 (polite request), JPN12 (neutral piece of advice) and JPN14 (rude opinion)<br>All female - JPN2 and JPN14 speak another language besides English<br>JPN has had a stay abroad. | 3<br>14,29 % | 4<br>19,05 % | 6<br>26,09 % | 2<br>8% |
| Total | 21 | 21 | 23 | 25 |

# Appendix E – Excel Data Sheet

The data which formed basis for the actual analysis can be found in the Excel spreadsheet by following this link (to dropbox location):

https://www.dropbox.com/s/cf0be1tyk42lzgv/SEB%20data%20for%20analysis.xlsx?dl=0

# Appendix F – FoA Answers Combined into Complete Sentences

**Tekst 4***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but perhaps include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| UK1 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK17 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK8 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK12 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK20 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK9 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK11 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK14 | This was a rude suggestion and I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| UK15 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK19 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK2 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK5 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK13 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK23 | This was a rude piece of advice and I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| UK4 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| UK3 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| UK6 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| UK18 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| UK22 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| UK7 | This was a rude order and I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| UK16 | This was a rude opinion and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 9***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but I should include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| UK1 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK17 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK12 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK20 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK9 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK11 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK5 | This was a rude suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK14 | This was a rude suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK23 | This was a rude suggestion and I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| UK15 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK19 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK8 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK13 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK22 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK16 | This was a rude piece of advice and I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| UK4 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| UK7 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| UK18 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| UK2 | This was a rude request and I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| UK3 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |

Urge

| | |
|---|---|
| UK6 | This was a neutral urge and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 15***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but it needs to have more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| UK1 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK17 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK5 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK12 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK9 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK23 | This was a rude suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK14 | This was a rude suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| UK4 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| UK7 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| UK18 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| UK20 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| UK19 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK16 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| UK6 | This was a neutral opinion and I should change section 1. |
| UK2 | This was a rude opinion and I should change section 1. |

Urge

| | |
|---|---|
| UK8 | This was a neutral urge and I should change section 1. |
| UK13 | This was a neutral urge and I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| UK3 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |

Obligation

| | |
|---|---|
| UK11 | This was a neutral obligation and I should change section 1. |

Warning

| | |
|---|---|
| UK15 | This was a polite warning and I should change section 1. |

Experience

| | |
|---|---|
| UK22 | This was a neutral experience and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 20***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but I would probably include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| UK1 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK12 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK15 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK17 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK8 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK19 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK6 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK7 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK23 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK9 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| UK3 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK4 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK22 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK5 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK16 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK11 | This was a neutral piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| UK13 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK20 | This was a neutral opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK14 | This was a rude opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Experience

| | |
|---|---|
| UK2 | This was a polite experience and I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| UK18 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 26***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but why don't you include more details in section 1?

Kind regards

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| UK2 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK11 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK17 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK22 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK4 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK6 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK23 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK9 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK13 | This was a rude suggestion and I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| UK8 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK12 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK19 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK20 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |

Obligation

| | |
|---|---|
| UK1 | This was a polite obligation and I should change section 1. |
| UK15 | This was a neutral obligation and I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| UK3 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| UK7 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| UK18 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| UK16 | This was a polite opinion and I should change section 1. |

| | |
|---|---|
| UK14 | This was a rude opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Urge

| | |
|---|---|
| UK5 | This was a neutral urge and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 33***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but couldn't you include more details in section 1?

Kind regards

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| UK17 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK12 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK5 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| UK9 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| UK1 | This was a neutral opinion and I should change section 1. |
| UK11 | This was a rude opinion and I should change section 1. |
| UK14 | This was a rude opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| UK22 | This was a rude opinion and no I should not change section 1. |

Urge

| | |
|---|---|
| UK2 | This was a neutral urge and I should change section 1. |
| UK6 | This was a neutral urge and I should change section 1. |
| UK3 | This was a rude urge and I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| UK4 | This was a rude order and I should change section 1. |
| UK7 | This was a rude order and I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| UK13 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| UK18 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| UK8 | This was a rude request and I should change section 1. |
| UK16 | This was a rude request and I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| UK23 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| UK20 | This was a rude piece of advice and I should change section 1. |

Obligation

| | |
|---|---|
| UK15 | This was a neutral obligation and I should change section 1. |

Warning

| | |
|---|---|
| UK19 | This was a neutral warning and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 4***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but perhaps include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN1 | This was a polite request and no I should not change section 1. |
| JPN5 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN6 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN7 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN24 | This was a neutral request and no I should not change section 1. |
| JPN19 | This was a rude request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN23 | This was a rude request and I should change section 1. |

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN3 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN17 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN2 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN9 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN16 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN18 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN11 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| JPN12 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| JPN15 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| JPN4 | This was a neutral piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN10 | This was a rude piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN14 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |
| JPN21 | This was a neutral order and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN13 | This was a neutral opinion and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 9***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but I should include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN3 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN6 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN7 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN12 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN13 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN24 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN1 | This was a neutral request and no I should not change section 1. |
| JPN18 | This was a neutral request and no I should not change section 1. |

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN2 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN16 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN17 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN19 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN23 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN21 | This was a rude suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN5 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN4 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| JPN11 | This was a neutral piece of advice and no I should not change section 1. |
| JPN9 | This was a rude piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN15 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |
| JPN14 | This was a neutral order and no I should not change section 1. |

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN10 | This was a rude order and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 15***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but it needs to have more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN5 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN13 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN14 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN6 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN7 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN24 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN1 | This was a neutral request and no I should not change section 1. |
| JPN18 | This was a neutral request and no I should not change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN10 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |
| JPN11 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |
| JPN12 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |
| JPN15 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |
| JPN16 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN3 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN17 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN19 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN21 | This was a neutral suggestion and no I should not change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN4 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| JPN23 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| JPN9 | This was a rude piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Urge

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN2 | This was a neutral urge and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 20***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but I would probably include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN2 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN19 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN12 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN6 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN10 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN17 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN7 | This was a polite request and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN1 | This was a polite request and no I should not change section 1. |
| JPN21 | This was a polite request and no I should not change section 1. |
| JPN24 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN18 | This was a neutral request and no I should not change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN11 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN14 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN16 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN23 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN3 | This was a neutral opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN4 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| JPN5 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN15 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN9 | This was a neutral order and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Experience

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN13 | This was a polite experience and no I should not change section 1. |

**Tekst 26***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but why don't you include more details in section 1?

Kind regards

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN3 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN12 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN15 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN6 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN17 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN9 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN14 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN16 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN21 | This was a neutral suggestion and no I should not change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN7 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN24 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN1 | This was a neutral request and no I should not change section 1. |
| JPN18 | This was a neutral request and no I should not change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN23 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| JPN10 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN5 | This was a neutral piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN4 | This was a rude piece of advice and I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN2 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |
| JPN11 | This was a rude order and I should change section 1. |

Warning

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN13 | This was a neutral warning and I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN19 | This was a neutral opinion and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 33***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but couldn't you include more details in section 1?

Kind regards

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN4 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN5 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN13 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN15 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN17 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN23 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN9 | This was a polite request and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN6 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN24 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| JPN18 | This was a neutral request and no I should not change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN3 | This was a polite order and I should change section 1. |
| JPN10 | This was a rude order and I should change section 1. |
| JPN11 | This was a rude order and I should change section 1. |
| JPN1 | This was a rude order and no I should not change section 1. |

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN7 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN16 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| JPN19 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN2 | This was a rude opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| JPN14 | This was a rude opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN12 | This was a neutral piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Warning

| | |
|---|---|
| JPN21 | This was a neutral warning and no I should not change section 1. |

**Tekst 4***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but perhaps include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC3 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC5 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC8 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC17 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC19 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC23 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC2 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC6 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC10 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC20 | This was a neutral piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC1 | This was a rude piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC7 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC15 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC16 | This was a polite suggestion and I perhaps should change section 1. |
| PRC14 | This was a polite suggestion and no I should not change section 1. |
| PRC4 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC11 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC12 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC13 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC22 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC9 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC21 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC24 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 9***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but I should include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC17 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC19 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC8 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC23 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC11 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC21 | This was a neutral piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC1 | This was a rude piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC5 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC12 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC2 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC4 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC6 | This was a rude request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC7 | This was a rude request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC10 | This was a rude request and I should change section 1. |

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC15 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC16 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC14 | This was a polite suggestion and no I should not change section 1. |
| PRC24 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC9 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC13 | This was a polite order and I should change section 1. |

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC3 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |
| PRC22 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC20 | This was a neutral opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 15***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but it needs to have more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC2 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC13 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC15 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC14 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC16 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC4 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC10 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC20 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC24 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC22 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC7 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC17 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC21 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC8 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC12 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC23 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC6 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC11 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC9 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC1 | This was a rude request and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Obligation

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC5 | This was a polite obligation and I should change section 1. |
| PRC19 | This was a neutral obligation and I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC3 | This was a polite opinion and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 20***

*Please read the following text and answer the question below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but I would probably include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC10 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC11 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC17 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC22 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC6 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC20 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC8 | This was a polite piece of advice and no I should not change section 1. |
| PRC4 | This was a neutral piece of advice and no I should not change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC2 | This was a polite opinion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC23 | This was a polite opinion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC9 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC14 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC19 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC21 | This was a neutral opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC7 | This was a neutral opinion and no I should not change section 1. |
| PRC13 | This was a neutral opinion and no I should not change section 1. |

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC3 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC15 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC16 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC24 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC12 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |

Experience

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC5 | This was a polite experience and I should change section 1. |

Urge

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC1 | This was a neutral urge and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 26***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but why don't you include more details in section 1?

Kind regards

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC7 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC15 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC14 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC2 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC3 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC5 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC11 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC24 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC1 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC16 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC20 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC17 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC21 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC9 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Warning

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC4 | This was a rude warning and I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC6 | This was a polite opinion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC22 | This was a neutral opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC8 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC19 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |

Urge

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC12 | This was a neutral urge and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC13 | This was a neutral urge and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC23 | This was a rude urge and I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC10 | This was a rude order and perhaps I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 33***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but couldn't you include more details in section 1?

Kind regards

Urge

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC12 | This was a neutral urge and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC2 | This was a rude urge and I should change section 1. |
| PRC19 | This was a rude urge and I should change section 1. |
| PRC23 | This was a rude urge and I should change section 1. |
| PRC11 | This was a rude urge and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC16 | This was a rude urge and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC20 | This was a rude urge and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC10 | This was a neutral opinion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC1 | This was a rude opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC22 | This was a rude opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| PRC13 | This was a rude opinion and no I should not change section 1. |

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC14 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC15 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC6 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| PRC24 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC8 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC5 | This was a rude request and I should change section 1. |
| PRC9 | This was a rude request and I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC7 | This was a rude order and I should change section 1. |
| PRC21 | This was a rude order and no I should not change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC3 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| PRC17 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |

Warning

| | |
|---|---|
| PRC4 | This was a rude warning and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 4***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but perhaps include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS15 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS21 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS11 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS18 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS25 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS19 | This was a neutral piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS24 | This was a neutral piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS27 | This was a neutral piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS29 | This was a neutral piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS9 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS3 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS17 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS1 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS10 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS14 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS26 | This was a polite opinion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS13 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS28 | This was a neutral opinion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS2 | This was a rude opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS6 | This was a polite order and I should change section 1. |
| RUS4 | This was a neutral order and no I should not change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS5 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS23 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS12 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS20 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 9***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but I should include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS10 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS15 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS11 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS25 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS12 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS14 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS18 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS2 | This was a neutral piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS19 | This was a neutral piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS3 | This was a polite order and I should change section 1. |
| RUS9 | This was a polite order and I should change section 1. |
| RUS4 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |
| RUS5 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |
| RUS17 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |
| RUS21 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS23 | This was a polite opinion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS26 | This was a polite opinion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS13 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS20 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS28 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS29 | This was a rude request and I should change section 1. |

Obligation

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS1 | This was a neutral obligation and I should change section 1. |
| RUS6 | This was a neutral obligation and I should change section 1. |

Urge

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS24 | This was a polite urge and I should change section 1. |

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS27 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 15***

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but it needs to have more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS9 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS25 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS11 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS1 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS12 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS15 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS23 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS29 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS21 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS27 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS28 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |

Experience

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS6 | This was a polite experience and I should change section 1. |
| RUS17 | This was a polite experience and I should change section 1. |
| RUS24 | This was a polite experience and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS14 | This was a neutral experience and I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS26 | This was a polite opinion and I should change section 1. |

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS2 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS18 | This was a neutral opinion and I should change section 1. |

Obligation

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS3 | This was a polite obligation and I should change section 1. |
| RUS4 | This was a neutral obligation and I should change section 1. |
| RUS19 | This was a neutral obligation and I should change section 1. |

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS10 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS13 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS20 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS5 | This was a polite order and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 20***

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but I would probably include more details in section 1.

Kind regards

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS26 | This was a polite opinion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS1 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS6 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS9 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS12 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS17 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS24 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS29 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS4 | This was a neutral opinion and I should change section 1. |

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS25 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS27 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS21 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS2 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS14 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS19 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Order

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS3 | This was a neutral order and I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS15 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS5 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS11 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS18 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS28 | This was a neutral piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Experience

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS10 | This was a neutral experience and no I should not change section 1. |

Warning

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS13 | This was a polite warning and no I should not change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS23 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS20 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 26***

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but why don't you include more details in section 1?

Kind regards

Suggestion

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS2 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS5 | This was a polite suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS4 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS28 | This was a neutral suggestion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS14 | This was a neutral suggestion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS6 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS3 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS29 | This was a polite piece of advice and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS15 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS18 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |

Request

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS23 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS12 | This was a polite request and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS20 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS1 | This was a neutral request and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Opinion

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS26 | This was a polite opinion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS27 | This was a polite opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS10 | This was a neutral opinion and I should change section 1. |
| RUS11 | This was a rude opinion and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Warning

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS9 | This was a polite warning and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS21 | This was a rude warning and I should change section 1. |

Obligation

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS24 | This was a polite obligation and I should change section 1. |
| RUS25 | This was a rude obligation and I should change section 1. |

Urge

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS13 | This was a polite urge and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS19 | This was a neutral urge and I should change section 1. |

Experience

| | |
|---|---|
| RUS17 | This was a polite experience and perhaps I should change section 1. |

**Tekst 33***

*Please read the following text and answer the questions below.*

Your new professor, whom you do not know very well, has asked you to prepare a draft paper for an upcoming conference. You have prepared the paper and have sent it to your professor. You now receive the following email from your professor:

Hi

Thank you for the paper. It is alright but couldn't you include more details in section 1?

Kind regards

Request

| | |
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| RUS4 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS5 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS6 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS1 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS15 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS23 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS25 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS26 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS29 | This was a polite request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS3 | This was a polite request and perhaps I should change section 1. |
| RUS14 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS20 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS28 | This was a neutral request and I should change section 1. |
| RUS2 | This was a neutral request and perhaps I should change section 1. |

Piece of advice

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| RUS10 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS11 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS12 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS17 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS21 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS24 | This was a polite piece of advice and I should change section 1. |
| RUS27 | This was a neutral piece of advice and I should change section 1. |

Order

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| RUS9 | This was a polite order and I should change section 1. |

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| RUS19 | This was a polite order and I should change section 1. |

Opinion

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| RUS18 | This was a polite opinion and I should change section 1. |

Suggestion

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| RUS13 | This was a polite suggestion and I should change section 1. |

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